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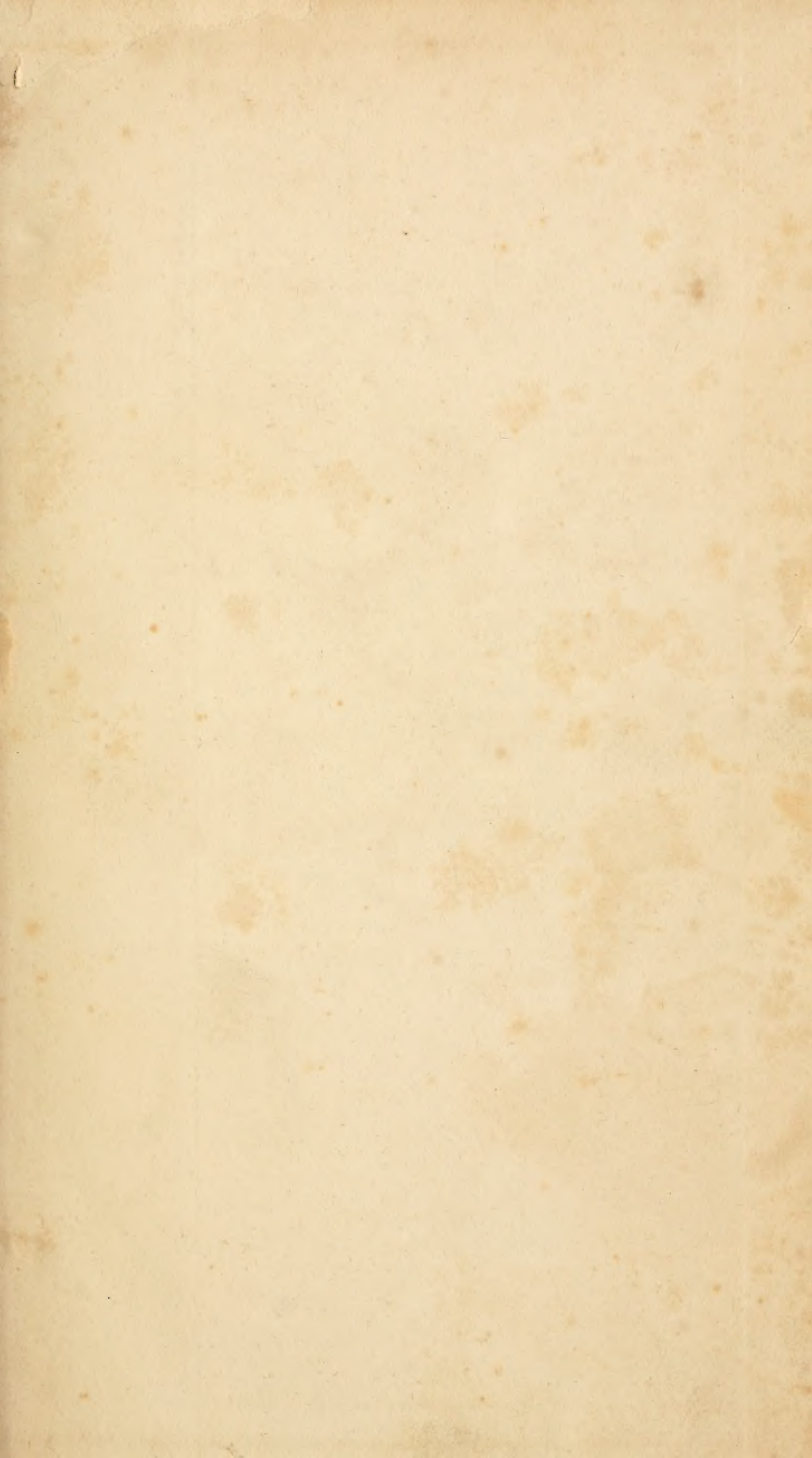
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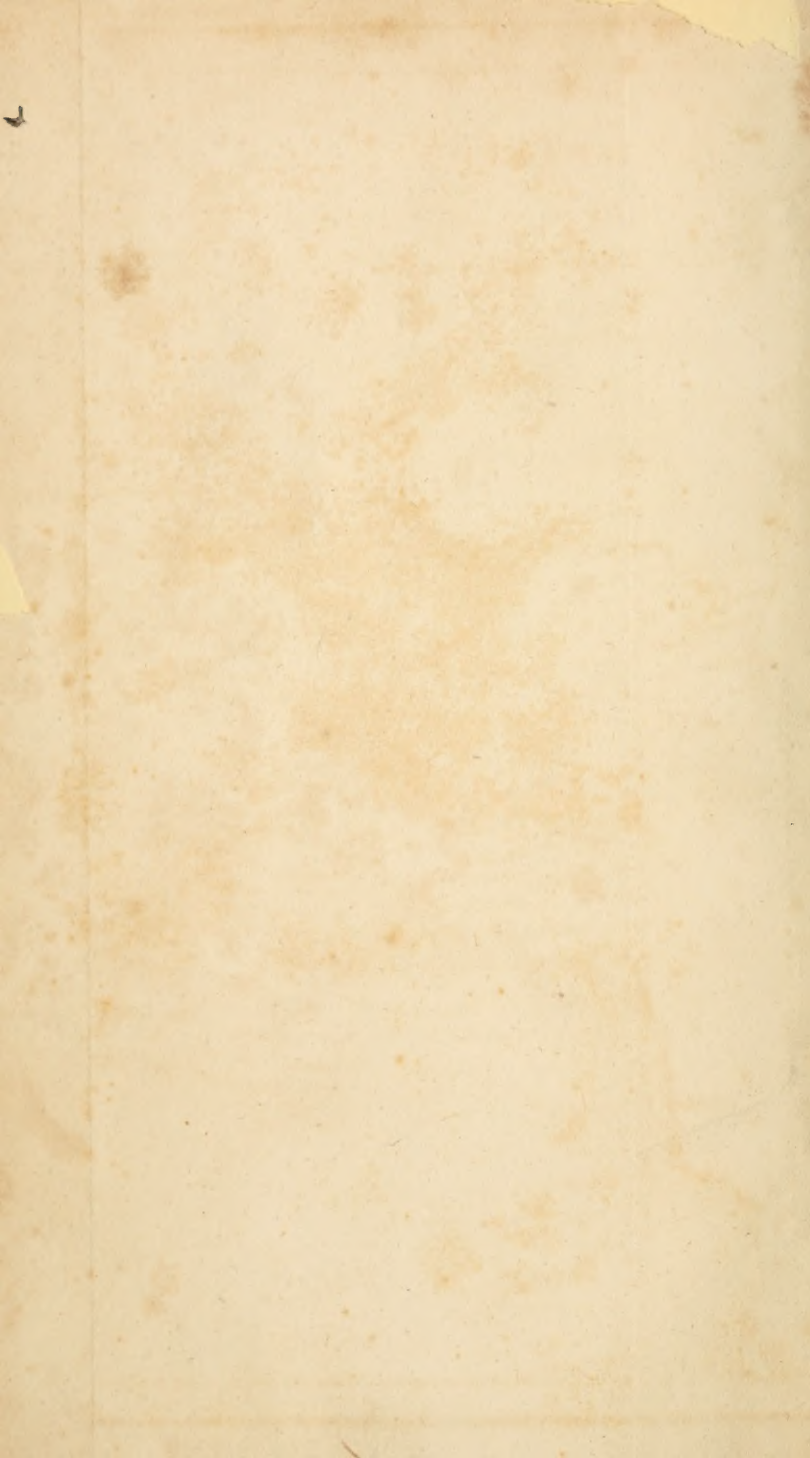
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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Christian Church,
FROM THE
BIRTH OF CHRIST TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY,
INCLUDING THE
VERY INTERESTING ACCOUNT
OF THE
WALDENSES AND ALBIGENSES.

—••••—
IN TWO VOLUMES.

—••••—
VOL. II.

—••••—
BY WILLIAM JONES,
Author of the Biblical Cyclopædia, &c.

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FIRST AMERICAN FROM THE FOURTH LONDON EDITION.

—••••—
PUBLISHED BY
SPENCER H. CONE.

—••••—
NEW-YORK:

PRINTED BY GRAY & BUNCE, 347 PEARL-STREET.

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1824.



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<i>Popes of Rome.</i> CENTURY XIII.	<i>German Emperors.</i> CENTURY XIII.	<i>Kings of France.</i> CENTURY XIV.
A. D.	A. D.	A. D.
Honorius III. . . 1216	Otho IV. . . 1208	Lewis X. called
Gregory IX. . . 1227	Frederic II. . . 1212	Hutin . . . 1314
Celestine IV. . . 1241	Conrad IV. . . 1250	Philip V. called
Innocent IV. . . 1243	William, earl of	the <i>Long</i> . . . 1316
Alexander IV. . . 1254	Holland . . . 1254	Charles IV. call-
Urban IV. . . 1261	Richard, of Corn-	ed the <i>Fair</i> . . . 1321
Clement IV. . . 1265	wall . . . 1257	Philip VI. of Va-
Gregory X. . . 1271	Interregnum } 1271	lois . . . 1323
Innocent V. . . 1276	which lasted } 1272	John, surnamed
Adrian V. . . 1276	two years, viz. }	the Good . . . 1350
Nicholas III. . . 1277	Rodolph I., count	Charles V. or the
Martin IV. . . 1281	of Hapsburg . . . 1273	<i>Wise</i> . . . 1364
Honorius IV. . . 1285	Adolphus of Nas-	Charles VI. call-
Nicholas IV. . . 1288	sau . . . 1292	ed the Bien-
S. Celestine V. . . 1294	Albert I. . . 1298	aimé . . . 1380
Boniface VIII. . . 1294	CENTURY XIV.	Charles VII. call-
CENTURY XIV.	Henry VII., of	ed the Victo-
Benedict XI. . . 1303	Luxemburg . . . 1308	rious . . . 1422
Clement V. . . 1305	Lewis V. of Ba-	CENTURY XV.
John XXII. . . 1316	varia . . . 1314	Lewis XI. . . 1461
Benedict XII. . . 1334	Charles IV. of	Charles VIII. . . 1483
Clement VI. . . 1342	Luxemburg . . . 1347	Lewis XII. . . 1497
Innocent VI. . . 1352	Wincellaus, king	CENTURY XVI.
Urban V. . . 1362	of Bohemia . . . 1378	Francis I. . . 1514
Gregory XI. . . 1370	Robert, Elector	Henry II. . . 1547
Urban VI. . . 1378	Palatine . . . 1400	Francis II. . . 1559
Clement VII. . . 1378	CENTURY XV.	Charles IX. . . 1560
Boniface IX. . . 1389	Sigismund, king	Henry III. . . 1574
CENTURY XV.	of Bohemia . . . 1411	Henry IV. . . 1589
Innocent VII. . . 1404	Maximilian I. . . 1493	CENTURY XVII.
Gregory XII. . . 1406	CENTURY XVI.	Lewis XIII. . . 1610
Alexander V. . . 1409	Charles V. . . 1519	Lewis XIV. . . 1643
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Martin V. . . 1417	Maximilian II. . . 1564	<i>Maurienne.</i>
Eugene IV. . . 1431	Rodolph . . . 1576	CENTURY XIV.
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Calixtus III. . . 1455	Matthias I. . . 1612	Aymon . . . 1329
Pius II. . . 1458	Ferdinand II. . . 1619	Amadeus VI. . . 1343
Paul II. . . 1464	Ferdinand III. . . 1637	Amadeus VII. . . 1383
Sixtus IV. . . 1471	Leopold . . . 1657	
Innocent VIII. . . 1484		
Alexander VI. . . 1492		

<i>Popes of Rome.</i> CENTURY XVI.	<i>Emperors of the House of Austria.</i> CENTURY XV.	<i>Dukes of Savoy.</i> CENTURY XIV.
A. D.	A. D.	A. D.
Pius III. . . . 1503	Albert II. . . . 1438	Amadeus VIII. resigned . . . 1391
Julius II. . . . 1503	Frederic III. . . 1440	CENTURY XV.
Leo X. 1513	Maximilian I. . 1493	Lewis 1434
Adrian VI. . . . 1522	CENTURY XVI.	Amadeus IX. . . 1465
Clement VII. . . 1523	Charles V. . . . 1519	Philibert I. . . . 1472
Paul III. 1534	<i>Emperors of the East.</i> (Constantinople.)	Charles I. 1482
Julius III. . . . 1550	CENTURY XIII.	Charles John Amadeus 1490
Marcellus II. . . 1555	Alexius the younger 1203	Philip Lackland 1496
Paul IV. 1555	Alexius IV. . . . 1203	Philibert II . . . 1496
Pius IV. 1559	Murtzuphius. . . 1204	CENTURY XVI.
Pius V. 1563		Charles III. . . . 1504
Gregory XIII. . . 1572		Emmanuel Phili- bert 1559
Sixtus V. 1585		Charles Emma- nuel I. 1580
Urban VII. . . . 1590		CENTURY XVII.
Gregory XIV. . . 1590		Victor Amadeus I. 1630
Innocent IX. . . 1591		Francis Hyacin- thus 1637
Clement VIII. . 1592		Charles Emma- nuel II. 1638
CENTURY XVII.		Victor Amadeus II. 1675
Leo XI. 1605		
Paul V. 1605		
Gregory XV. . . . 1621		
Urban VIII. . . . 1623		
Innocent X. . . . 1644		
Alexander VII. . . 1655		
Clement IX. . . . 1667		
Clement X. . . . 1670		
Innocent XI. . . . 1676		
Alexander VIII. . 1689		
Innocent XII. . . 1691		
CENTURY XVIII.		
Clement XI. . . . 1700		

HISTORY

OF THE

CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

Chapter V.

THE HISTORY OF THE WALDENSES AND ALBIGENSES, FROM
THE TIME OF PETER WALDO, A. D. 1160, TO THE DAYS
OF WICKLIFF, 1360.

SECTION I.

*Etymology of the names WALDENSES and ALBIGENSES, with
some account of Peter Waldo of Lyons, and the sanguinary edict of Pope Lucius III. against the disciples
of Waldo.*

HAVING sketched the more prominent features of the Christian Church, for the first ten centuries, and arriving at that period in which we are to give the reader some account of the Waldenses, it will be proper to introduce the subject by an attempt to ascertain the origin of their distinguishing appellation. The learned Mosheim contends with considerable pertinacity that they derive their name from Peter Waldo, an opulent merchant of Lyons, whose history will presently come under our notice; but in this he is contradicted by his learned translator, and I believe, I may truly add, by most writers of authority since his time.

The most satisfactory definition that I have met with of the term *Waldenses*, is that given by Mr. Robinson, in his

Ecclesiastical Researches ; and, in the confidence that it is the true one, and that I may not unnecessarily trespass on the reader's time and patience, I submit it to his consideration.

From the Latin word *VALLIS*, came the English word *valley*, the French and Spanish *valle*, the Italian *valdesi*, the low Dutch *valleye*, the Provençal *vau*, *vaudois*, the ecclesiastical *Valdenses*, *Ualdenses*, and *Waldenses*. The words simply signify *valleys*, inhabitants of valleys, and no more. It happened that the inhabitants of the valleys of the Pyrenees did not profess the catholic faith ; it fell out also that the inhabitants of the valleys about the Alps did not embrace it ; it happened, moreover, in the ninth century, that one Valdo, a friend and counsellor of Berengarius, and a man of eminence, who had many followers, did not approve of the papal discipline and doctrine ; and it came to pass about a hundred and thirty years after, that a rich merchant of Lyons, who was called Valdus, or Waldo, because he received his religious notions from the inhabitants of the valleys, openly disavowed the Roman Catholic religion, supported many to teach the doctrines believed in the valleys, and became the instrument of the conversion of great numbers ; ALL THESE PEOPLE WERE CALLED WALDENSES.* This view of the matter, which to myself appears indisputably the true one, is also supported by the authority of their own historians, Perrin, Leger, Sir S. Morland, and Dr. Allix.

To the preceding account of the derivation of the term Waldenses, I shall now add the explanation given by these writers, of various other appellations that were bestowed on this class of Christians, and particularly that of Albigenes.

The names imposed on them in France by their adversaries, they say, have been intended to vilify and ridicule them, or to represent them as new and different sects. Be-

* *Eccles. Researches*, pages 302, 303.

ing stripped of all their property, and reduced by persecution to extreme poverty, they have been called "the poor of Lyons." From their mean and famished appearance in their exiled and destitute state, they have been called in provincial jargon "Siccan," or pickpockets. Because they would not observe saints' days, they were falsely supposed to neglect the Sabbath also, and called "Inzab-batati or Insabbathists."* As they denied transubstantiation, or the personal and divine presence of Jesus Christ in the host, or wafer exhibited in the mass, they were called "Arians." Their adversaries, premising that all power must be derived from God *through his vicerent the Pope*, or from an opposite and evil principle, inferred that the Waldenses were "Manichæans," because they denied the pope's supremacy over the emperors and kings of the earth.

In Languedoc, the catholics pretended that the origin of these heretics was recent, and that they derived their name of Vaudois, or Waldenses, from Peter Waldo, one of their barbes or preachers, whose immediate followers were called Waldenses, ; but this was rather the renovation of the name from a particular cause, than its original ; accordingly it extended over that district only, in France, where Peter Waldo preached ; for in other districts the people who were branches of the same original sect, as in Dauphine, were, from a noted preacher, called Josephists—in Languedoc, they were called Henricians—and in other provinces, from Peter de Bruys, they were called Petrobrusians. Sometimes they received their name from their manners, as "Catharists," (*Puritans*) and from the foreign country whence it

* Dr. Moshiem traces the derivation of this word to a kind of slipper which they wore, as a distinguishing badge of the sect ; and Gibbon has adopted his opinion. But I agree with Mr. Robinson in thinking it very unlikely that people who could not descend from their mountains into neighbouring states, without hazarding their lives, through the furious zeal of inquisitors, should tempt danger by affixing a visible mark on their shoes. The above opinion, therefore, appears much more probable.

was pretended they had been expelled, they were called "Bulgarians" or Bougres. In Italy they were commonly called Fraticelli, that is, "men of the brotherhood," because they cultivated brotherly love among themselves, acknowledging one another as brethren in Christ. Sometimes they were denominated "Paulicians," and, by corruption of the word, "Publicans," considering them as sprung from that ancient sect which, in the seventh century, spread over Armenia and Thrace,* and which, when persecuted by the Greek emperors, might emigrate into Europe, and mingle with the Waldenses in Piedmont. Sometimes they were named from the country or city in which they prevailed, as Lombardists, Toulousians, and Albigenses. All these branches, however, sprang from one common stock, and were animated by the same religious and moral principles.

ALBIGENSES became latterly their common name in France, from the great number of them that inhabited the city of Alby, and the district of Albigeois, between the Garonne and the Rhone; but that name was not general and confirmed till after the council of Alby in the year 1254, which condemned them as heretics. Their number and prevalence in that country are ascribed to the patronage and protection which they received from Roger count of Alby, after they had been persecuted in other countries. Some writers have laboured to prove that the Waldenses and Albigenses were quite different classes of Christians, and held different principles and opinions; but there seems no solid ground for maintaining such a distinction. When the popes issued their fulminations against the Albigenses, they expressly condemn them as Waldenses; their legates made war against them as professing the faith of the Waldenses; the monks of the Inquisition formed their processes of indictment against them as being Waldenses; the people persecuted them as being such, and they uniformly

* See Vol. I. ch. iii. sect. 4.

adopted the title when it was given them, and even thought themselves honoured by it. To this may be added, that historians do not trace their origin to any local causes in Albigeois, and about Toulouse, but represent them as emigrants from other regions. Neither do they represent their origin as recent before the council of Alby, but as strangers from adjacent countries about a hundred years before.

Farther, the provincial councils of Toulouse, in 1119, and of Lombez, in 1176, and the general councils of Lateran in 1139 and 1179 do not treat of them, nor condemn them, as Albigenses but as heretics, and when they particularize them, they denominate them “bons hommes”—(i. e. good men)—“cathari”—“paterini”—“publicani,” &c. which shows that they existed before they were generally known as Albigenses. It is also proved, from their books, that they existed as Waldenses, before the times of Peter Waldo, who preached about the year 1160. Perrin, who wrote their history, had in his possession a New Testament in the Vallese language, written on parchment, in a very ancient letter, and a book entitled, in their language, “Qual cosa sia l’Antichrist?”—that is, “What is Antichrist?” under date of the year 1120, which carries us back at least twenty years before Waldo. Another book entitled, “The noble lesson,” is dated A. D. 1100.

Their enemies confirm their great antiquity. Reinerius Saccho, an inquisitor, and one of their most cruel persecutors, who lived only eighty years after Waldo, admits that the Waldenses flourished five hundred years before that preacher. Gretzer, the Jesuit, who also wrote against the Waldenses, and had examined the subject fully, not only admits their great antiquity, but declares his firm belief “that the Toulousians and Albigenses condemned in the years 1177 and 1178, were no other than Waldenses. In fact, their doctrines, discipline, government, manners, and even the errors with which they have been charged (by the Catholics) show that the Albigenses and Waldenses were

two branches of the same sect, or that the former were sprung from the latter.*

From the death of Claude, bishop of Turin, who may not improperly be termed the Wickliff of that city, to the times of Peter Waldo of Lyons, a considerable period intervened, during which, the history of the disciples of that great man is involved in much obscurity. They seem to have had no writers among themselves capable of detailing their proceedings during this period; or, if any records of their ecclesiastical history were committed to writing, the zeal of their adversaries hath prevented their transmission to our times. In the writings of their enemies, indeed, we have abundant proof of their existence, as a class of Christians separated in faith and practice from the catholic church, and of the multiplication of their numbers; but of their proceedings in the formation of churches, and of their order, worship, and discipline, we are very imperfectly informed.

Of the *Catharists*, in Germany, and of the *Paterines*, in the dutchy of Milan, &c., during this period, both of which held the same principles as the Waldenses, we have already taken some notice in the preceding chapter. But it was not till the twelfth century that the *Vaudois* appear in ecclesiastical history as a people obnoxious to the church of Rome. And even then it seems, in great measure, to have been occasioned by the indefatigable labours, the ardent zeal, and the amazing success which crowned the ministry of Peter Waldo of Lyons, whose followers first obtained the name of Leonists,† and who, when persecuted in France, fled into Piedmont, incorporating themselves with the Vaudois.

* *Dr. Rankin's History of France*, vol. iii. p. 198—202. To this cotemporary and able writer, I have much pleasure in tendering my acknowledgments for the eminent services which, in this instance, he has rendered to the cause of truth and virtue. His patient research, and his cool, correct, and discriminating judgment, have greatly abridged my labour on this branch of the subject.

† From the Latin word "Leo," a lion—whence the name of the city.

The following is the account which Mr. Robinson gives of this intricate article of ecclesiastical history, and as it appears to myself more probable than any other that I have seen, I incline to admit it as the true one.

“In the twelfth century, towards the close, a great reformation was begun at Lyons, under the auspices of a merchant there, who procured a translation of the four Gospels from Latin into French, and who both preached himself, and engaged others to do so, in various parts of the country. Reinerius Saccho thought all the believers (*Credenti*) sprung from this stock; and he therefore calls them all Leonists. Whether the merchant received his name (*Valdus*) from the Vaudois, or whether they received theirs from him is uncertain; the former is the more probable opinion of the two, and the fact seems to be that, till then the Vaudois were (comparatively speaking) few and obscure, and the Leonists at once numerous and popular; that the Vaudois and Leonists soon incorporated themselves together; that the Vaudois communicated their name, which passed for that of a low, rustical, and obscure people, to the Leonists; and that the Leonists emboldened the Vaudois to separate openly from the church. This view of things in part reconciles the opinion of the catholic bishop, Bossuet, with that of Dr. Allix and other Protestants. Bossuet says, the separation of the Vaudois was for a long time a mere schism in the church, and that Waldo was their parent. Protestants deny this, and say that the Vaudois were the parents of the Leonists. It should seem the Vaudois were the first, and that they continued in the church a sort of party till Waldo emboldened them to separate, and so became not the founder of the party, but the parent of their separation.”

But the history of Peter Waldo, his exemplary life, his zeal in the cause of truth and virtue, the noble sacrifices which he made to religious principle, and the extraordinary success which crowned his labours in the promulgation of the gospel of peace, entitle him to somewhat more than an

incidental mention in the history of the times in which he lived. He was an opulent merchant in the city of Lyons—a city which, in the second century of the Christian æra, as we have formerly seen,* was blessed with the clear light of divine truth—where Christ had planted a numerous church to serve as a pillar on which his truth was inscribed, or a candlestick on which he had placed the lamp of life. But the lamp had long been extinguished, and the pillar removed. Lyons, in the times of Peter Waldo, was sunk into a state of the grossest darkness and superstition. About the year 1160 the doctrine of transubstantiation, which sometime afterwards Pope Innocent III. confirmed in a very solemn manner, was required by the court of Rome to be acknowledged by all men. A most pernicious practice of idolatry was connected with the reception of this doctrine. Men fell down before the consecrated wafer and worshipped it as God; an abomination, the absurdity and impiety of which forcibly struck the mind of Waldo, who opposed it in a most courageous manner.†

But although the conscience or common sense of Waldo revolted against this novel piece of superstition, he seems not to have entertained, at that time, the most distant idea of withdrawing himself from the communion of the Romish church, nor indeed to have had much sense of religion upon his mind. God, however, who hath the hearts of all men in his hands, and who turns them as the rivers of water, had destined him for great usefulness in his kingdom. To him, also, whatever means seem necessary for effecting his purposes in the world, are equally at command. An extraordinary occurrence in providence was the means of awakening the mind of Peter Waldo, to the “one thing needful.” One evening after supper, as he sat conversing with a party of his friends, and refreshing himself among them, one of the company fell down dead on the floor, to the consternation of all that were present. Such a lesson on

* See vol. i. p. 207.

† Perrin *Histoire des Vaudois*, ch. i

the uncertainty of human life, and the very precarious tenure by which mortals hold it, most forcibly arrested his attention. The Latin Vulgate Bible was the only edition of the Scriptures at that time in Europe; but that language was inaccessible to all, except one in a hundred of its inhabitants. Happily for Waldo, his situation in life had enabled him to surmount that obstacle. "Being *somewhat learned*," says Reinerius, when speaking of him, "he taught the people the text of the New Testament in their mother tongue." The sudden death of his friend led him to think of his own approaching dissolution, and under the terrors of an awakened conscience, he had recourse to the Holy Scriptures for instruction and comfort. There, in the knowledge of the true character of God, as the just God and the Saviour, reconciled towards sinners through the blood of atonement, he found the pearl of great price—a way of escape from the wrath which is to come. The belief of the testimony which God hath given of his Son, diffused peace and joy into his own mind; raised his views and conceptions above "the smoke and din of this dim spot which men call earth," and led him to look for glory, honour, and immortality, even eternal life in the world to come. But Christian love is an operative principle. It expands the mind in which it dwells, and fills it with generous sentiments—with supreme love to God, and the most disinterested benevolence to man. Waldo was desirous of communicating to others a participation of that happiness which he himself enjoyed. He abandoned his mercantile pursuits, distributed his wealth to the poor as occasion required; and, while the latter flocked to him to partake of his alms, he laboured to engage their attention to the things which belonged to their everlasting peace.

One of the first objects of his pursuit was to put into their hands the word of life; and he either himself translated, or procured some one else to translate, the four Gospels into French; and the next was to make them acquainted with their sacred contents. Matthias Illyrius,

a writer who prosecuted his studies under Luther and Melancthon, and was one of the Magdeburgh centuriators, speaking of him says, "His kindness to the poor being diffused, his love of teaching, and their love of learning growing stronger and stronger, greater crowds came to him, to whom he explained the scriptures. He was himself a man of learning; so I understand from some old parchments—nor was he obliged to employ others to translate for him as his enemies affirm." But whether Waldo himself translated these Scriptures, or employed others to do it, or, which is most probable, executed it himself with the assistance of others, certain it is, that the inhabitants of Europe were indebted to him for the first translation of the Bible into a modern tongue, since the time that the Latin had ceased to be a living language—a gift of inestimable value!

As Waldo became more acquainted with the Scriptures, he began to discover that a multiplicity of doctrines, rites, and ceremonies which had been introduced into the national religion, had not only no foundation in the word of God, but were most pointedly condemned in that book. Inflamed with zeal for the glory of God, on the one hand, and with concern for the souls of his fellow-sinners on the other, he raised his voice loudly against them, condemning the arrogance of the Pope, and the reigning vices of the clergy. Nor did he satisfy himself with mere declamation against what was wrong in others. He taught the truth in its simplicity, and enforced its practical influence on the heart and life; and by his own example, as well as by an appeal to the lives of those who first believed in Christ, he laboured to demonstrate the great difference there was between the Christianity of the Bible and that of the Church of Rome.

The consequences of all this may be easily supposed by a reflecting mind. The Archbishop of Lyons heard of these proceedings, and became indignant. Their tendency was obvious; the honour of the church was involved in

them, and, in perfect consistency with the usual mode of silencing objectors among the catholic party, he forbade the new reformer to teach any more on pain of excommunication, and of being proceeded against as a heretic. Waldo replied, that though a layman, he could not be silent in a matter which concerned the salvation of his fellow-creatures. Attempts were next made to apprehend him; but the number and affection of his friends, the respectability and influence of his connexions, many of whom were men of rank; the universal regard that was paid to his character for probity and religion; and the conviction that his presence was highly necessary among the people whom he had by this time gathered into a church, and of which he had taken the oversight, all operated so strongly in his favour, that he lived concealed at Lyons during the space of three whole years.*

Information of these things was then conveyed to Pope Alexander III., who no sooner heard of such heretical proceedings than he anathematized the reformer and his adherents, commanding the archbishop to proceed against them with the utmost rigour. Waldo was now compelled to quit Lyons; his flock in a great measure followed their pastor; and hence a dispersion took place not unlike that which arose in the church of Jerusalem on the occasion of the death of Stephen. The effects were also similar. Waldo himself retired into Dauphiny, where he preached with abundant success; his principles took deep and lasting root, and produced a numerous harvest of disciples, who were denominated Leonists, Vaudois, Albigenses, or Waldenses; for the very same class of Christians is designated by these various appellations at different times, and according to the different countries or quarters of the same country in which they appeared.†

Persecuted from place to place, Waldo retired into Picardy, where also success attended his labours. Driven

* Perrin's History, ch. i.

ibid. ch. i.

from thence, he proceeded into Germany, carrying along with him the glad tidings of Salvation; and, according to the testimony of Thuanus, a very authentic French historian, he at length settled in Bohemia, where he finished his course, in the year 1179, after a ministry of nearly twenty years. He was evidently a man of very singular endowments; and one of those extraordinary persons whom God in his providence occasionally raises up and qualifies for eminent usefulness in his kingdom; but he has met with no historian capable of doing justice to his talents and character. Numbers of his people fled for an asylum into the valleys of Piedmont, taking with them the new translation of the Bible. In the ensuing section, we shall have an opportunity of examining their doctrinal sentiments; and their history in that country, as well as in the south of France, and wherever else we can trace them, will occupy, in one way or other, the remaining pages of this volume.

The persecution of Waldo and his followers, with their flight from Lyons, is a remarkable epoch in the annals of the Christian Church. Wherever they went, they sowed the seeds of reformation. The countenance and blessing of the King of kings accompanied them. The word of God grew and multiplied, not only in the places where Waldo himself had planted it, but in more distant regions. In Alsace and along the Rhine, the doctrines of Waldo spread extensively. Persecutions ensued—thirty-five citizens of Mentz were burned in one fire at the city of Bingen, and eighteen at Mentz itself. The bishops of both Mentz and Strasburgh breathed nothing but vengeance and slaughter against them; and at the latter city, where Waldo himself is said to have narrowly escaped apprehension, eighty persons were committed to the flames. In the treatment, and in the behaviour of the Waldenses, were renewed the scenes of martyrdom of the second century. Multitudes died praising God, and in the confident hope of a blessed resurrection. But the blood of the martyrs again became the

seed of the church ; and in Bulgaria, Croatia, Dalmatia, and Hungary, churches were planted, which flourished throughout the thirteenth century, and which are said to have owed their rise chiefly to the labours of one Bartholomew, a native of Carcassone, a city not far distant from Toulouse, in the south of France, and which may be not improperly termed the metropolis of the Albigenses. In Bohemia, and in the country of Passau, it has been computed that there was not less than eighty thousand of this class of Christians in the year 1315. In short we shall find in the sequel, that they spread themselves throughout almost every country in Europe ; but they were every where treated as the filth of the world, and as the offscouring of all things.*

It can excite no surprise that their increasing numbers should rouse the court of Rome to adopt the most vigorous measures for suppressing them. The inquisition had not yet been established ; but council after council had been convened in France ; and about twenty years after Waldo had been driven from Lyons, the following persecuting edict was issued from Rome.

THE DECREE OF POPE LUCIUS III. AGAINST HERETICS,
A. D. 1181.

To abolish the malignity of divers heresies which are lately sprung up in most parts of the world, it is but fitting that the power committed to the church should be awakened, that by the concurring assistance of the imperial strength, both the insolence and malapertness of the heretics in their false designs may be crushed, and the truth of Catholic simplicity shining forth in the holy church, may demonstrate her pure and free from the execrableness of their false doctrines. Wherefore we, being supported by

* Perrin's History, ch. ii.

the presence and power of our most dear son, Frederic, the most illustrious Emperor of the Romans, always increaser of the empire, with the common advice and counsel of our brethren, and other patriarchs, archbishops, and many princes, who from several parts of the world are met together, do set themselves against these heretics, who have got different names from the several false doctrines they profess, by the sanction of this present general decree, and by our apostolical authority, according to the tenor of these presents, we condemn all manner of heresy, by what name soever it may be denominated.

More particularly, we declare all Catharists, Paterines, and those who call themselves “the poor of Lyons;” the Passagines, Josephists, Arnoldists, to lie under a perpetual anathema. And because some, under a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof, as the apostle saith, assume to themselves the authority of preaching; whereas the same apostle saith, “How shall they preach except they be sent”—we therefore conclude under the same sentence of a perpetual anathema, all those who either being forbid or not sent do notwithstanding presume to preach publicly or privately, without any authority received either from the Apostolic See, or from the bishops of their respective diocesses: As also all those who are not afraid to hold or teach any opinions concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, baptism, the remission of sins, matrimony, or any other sacraments of the church, differing from what the holy church of Rome doth preach and observe: And generally all those whom the same church of Rome, or the several bishops in their diocesses, with the advice of their clergy, or the clergy themselves, in case of vacancy of the See, with the advice if need be of neighbouring bishops, shall judge to be heretics. And we likewise declare all entertainers and defenders of the said heretics, and those that have showed any favour or given countenance to them, thereby strengthening them in their heresy, whether they be called *comforted*, *believers*, or

perfect, or with whatsoever superstitious name they disguise themselves, to be liable to the name sentence.

And though it sometimes happens that the severity of ecclesiastical discipline, necessary to the coercion of sin, is condemned by those who do not understand the virtue of it, we notwithstanding by these presents decree, That whosoever shall be notoriously convicted of these errors, if a clergyman, or one that endeavours to conceal himself under any religious order, he shall be immediately deprived of all prerogative of the church orders, and so being divested of all office and benefice, be delivered to the secular power to be punished according to demerit, unless immediately upon his being detected he voluntarily returns to the truth of the Catholic faith, and publicly abjures his errors, at the discretion of the bishop of the diocese, and makes suitable satisfaction. And as for a layman who shall be found guilty either publicly or privately of any of the aforesaid crimes, unless by abjuring his heresy and making satisfaction he immediately return to the orthodox faith, we decree him to be left to the sentence of the secular judge, to receive condign punishment according to the quality of the offence.

And as to those who are taken notice of by the church as suspected of heresy, unless at the command of the bishop they give full evidence of their innocence, according to the decree of suspicion against them and the quality of their persons, they shall all be liable to the same sentence. But those who after having abjured their errors, or cleared themselves upon examination to their bishop, if they be found to have relapsed into their abjured heresy—We decree that without any further hearing they be forthwith delivered up to the secular power, and their goods confiscated to the use of the church.

And we further decree, That this excommunication, in which our will is that all heretics be included, shall be repeated and renewed by all patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops, in all the chief festivals and on any public solem-

nity, or upon any other occasion, to the glory of God and the putting a stop to all heretical pravity : ordering by our apostolic authority, that if any bishop be found wanting or slow herein, he be suspended for three years from his episcopal dignity and administration.

Furthermore, with the counsel and advice of bishops, and intimation of the emperor and princes of the empire, we do add, That every archbishop or bishop, either in his own person or by his archdeacon, or by other honest and fit persons, shall once or twice in the year visit the parish in which it is reported that heretics dwell, and there cause two or three men of good credit, or if need be, the whole neighbourhood, to swear that if they know of any heretics there, or any that frequent private meetings, or that differ from the common conversation of mankind, either in life or manners, they will signify the same to the bishop or archdeacon : The bishop also or archdeacon shall summon before them the parties accused, who, unless they at their discretion, according to the custom of the country, do clear themselves of the guilt laid to their charge ; or if after having so cleared themselves, they relapse again to their former unbelief, they shall be punished at the bishop's discretion. And if any of them, by a damnable superstition, shall refuse to swear, that alone shall suffice to convict them of being heretics, and liable to the punishments before-mentioned.

We ordain further, That all earls, barons, governors, and consuls of cities and other places, in pursuance of the commonition of the respective archbishops and bishops, shall promise upon oath, that in all these particulars, whenever they are required so to do, they will powerfully and effectually assist the church against heretics and their accomplices ; and endeavour faithfully, according to their office and power, to execute the ecclesiastical and imperial statutes concerning the matters herein mentioned.

But if any of them shall refuse to observe this, they shall be deprived of their honours and charges, and be rendered

incapable of receiving others ; and, moreover, be involved in the sentence of excommunication, and their goods be confiscated to the use of the church. And if any city shall refuse to yield obedience to these Decretal Constitutions, or that contrary to the episcopal commonition they shall neglect to punish opposers, We ordain the same to be excluded from all commerce with other cities, and to be deprived of the episcopal dignity.

We likewise decree, That all favourers of heretics, as men stigmatized with perpetual infamy, shall be incapable of being attorneys or witnesses, or of bearing any public office whatsoever. And as for those who are exempt from the law of diocesan jurisdiction, as being immediately under the jurisdiction of the Apostolic See ; nevertheless, as to these constitutions against heretics, we will, That they be subject to the judgment of the archbishop and bishops, and that in this case they yield obedience to them, as to the delegates of the Apostolic See, the immunity of their privileges notwithstanding.

Ildefonsus, king of Arragon, also testified his zeal against the Waldenses, by an edict published in the year 1194, from the tenour of which we are authorized to infer, that the doctrine of Waldo had not only found its way into Spain, but that it had got such footing there as to create no little alarm, and call forth the determined interference of the government. The following is a copy of this severe edict, as given by Pegna, in his notes on the “Directory of the Inquisitors.”

“ILDEFONSUS, by the grace of God, King of Arragon, Earl of Barcelona, Marquis of Provence, to all archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of the church of God, earls, viscounts, knights, and to all people of his kingdom, or belonging to his dominions, wisheth health, and the sound observance of the Christian Religion.

Forasmuch as it hath pleased God to set us over his people, it is but fit and just, that according to our might we should be continually solicitous for the welfare and defence of the same ; wherefore we, in imitation of our ancestors, and in obedience to the canons which determine and ordain heretics, as persons cast out from the sight of God and all Catholics, to be condemned and persecuted every where, do command and charge the Waldenses, Inzabbati, who otherwise are called, “the poor of Lyons,” and all other heretics who cannot be numbered, being excommunicated from the holy church, adversaries to the cross of Christ, violators and corrupters of the Christian religion, and the avowed enemies of us and our kingdom, to depart out of our kingdom and all our dominions. Whosoever, therefore, from this day forward, shall presume to receive the said Waldenses and Inzabbati, or any other heretics of whatsoever profession, into their houses, or to be present at their pernicious sermons, or to afford them meat, or any other favour, shall thereby incur the indignation of Almighty God, as well as ours, and have his goods confiscated, without the remedy of an appeal, and be punished as if he were actually guilty of high treason. And we strictly charge and command, that this our edict and perpetual constitution be publicly read on the Lord’s days by the bishops and other rectors of churches, in all the cities, castles, and towns of our kingdom, and throughout all our dominions : and that the same be observed by vicars, bailiffs, justices, &c., and all the people in general ; and the afore-said punishment be inflicted on all transgressors.

We further will, That if any person, noble or ignoble, shall in any part of our dominions find any of these wicked wretches, who shall be known to have had three days’ notice of this our Edict, and that do not forthwith depart, but rather are obstinately found staying or lingering ; let such know that if they shall any way plague, despitefully use or distress them, wounding unto death and maiming of them only excepted, he will in so doing perform nothing but

what will be very grateful and pleasing to us, and shall be so far from fearing to incur any penalty thereby, that he may be sure rather to deserve our favour. Furthermore, we give these wicked miscreants respite, though that may seem somewhat contrary to reason and our duty, till the day after All Saints day : but that all those who either shall not be gone by that time, or at least preparing for their departure, shall be spoiled, beaten, cudgelled, and shamefully ill-treated."

SECTION II.

Some account of the Doctrinal Sentiments and Religious Practices of the Waldenses, collected from the writings of their adversaries.

It is intended, in this and the two following sections, to lay before the reader a more detailed account of the principles and practices of the Waldenses, than hath hitherto been given ; and there appears no method of doing this more satisfactorily, than by first hearing the charges alleged against them by their adversaries of the Romish church ; and then attending to the apologies, reasonings, and confessions of faith which, from time to time, that ever laudable principle of self-defence necessarily extorted from them. This is the plan, therefore, which I propose to pursue, and the present section shall be devoted to the testimony of their adversaries.

REINERIVS SACCHO, whose name I have had occasion more than once to mention, was for seventeen years of the earlier part of his life, in some way or other, connected with the Waldenses ; but he apostatized from their profession, entered the Catholic church, was raised in it to the dignified station of an inquisitor, and became one of their most cruel persecutors. He was deputed by the pope to

reside in Lombardy, in the south of France ; and about the year 1250, published a catalogue of the errors of the Waldenses under three and thirty distinct heads. The reader who wishes to peruse the original Latin, may find it in Dr. Allix's *Remarks upon the Churches of Piedmont*, p. 188—191. The following is a faithful translation.

Their first error, says he, is a contempt of ecclesiastical power, and from thence they have been delivered up to Satan, and by him cast headlong into innumerable errors, mixing the erroneous doctrines of the heretics of old with their own inventions. And being cast out of the catholic church, they affirm that they alone are the church of Christ and his disciples. They declare themselves to be the apostles' successors, to have apostolical authority, and the keys of binding and loosing. They hold the church of Rome to be the whore of Babylon, (Rev. ch. xvii.) and that all that obey her are damned, especially the clergy that have been subject to her since the time of Pope Sylvester.* They deny that any true miracles are wrought in the church, because none of themselves ever worked any. They hold, that none of the ordinances of the church, which have been introduced since Christ's ascension, ought to be observed, as being of no value. The feasts, fasts, orders, blessings, offices of the church, and the like, they utterly reject. They speak against consecrated churches, churchyards, and other things of the like nature, declaring that they were the inventions of covetous priests, to augment their own gains, in spunging the people by those means of their money and oblations. They say, that a man is then first baptized when he is received into their community. Some of them hold that baptism is of no advantage to infants, because they cannot actually believe. They reject the sacrament of confirmation, but instead of that, their teachers lay their hands upon their disciples.

* This pontiff was bishop of Rome in the days of Constantine the Great, about the year 350.

They say, the bishops, clergy, and other religious orders are no better than the Scribes and Pharisees, and other persecutors of the apostles. They do not believe the body and blood of Christ to be the true sacrament, but only blessed bread, which by a figure only is called the body of Christ, even as it is said, "and the rock was Christ," &c. Some of them hold that this sacrament can only be celebrated by those that are good,* others again by any that know the words of consecration. This sacrament they celebrate in their assemblies, repeating the words of the gospel at their table, and participating together, in imitation of Christ's supper. They say that a priest who is a sinner, cannot bind or loose any one, as being himself bound : and that any good and intelligent layman may absolve another, and impose penance. They reject extreme unction, declaring it to be rather a curse than a sacrament. Marriage, say they, is nothing else but sworn fornication, unless the parties live continently, and account any filthiness preferable to the conjugal rites. They praise continence indeed, but in the mean-time give way to the satisfying of burning lusts by any filthy means whatsoever, expounding that place of the apostle, "It is better to marry than to burn," thus : that it is better to satisfy one's lust by any filthy act, than to be tempted therewith in the heart.† But this they

* The meaning of this does not seem very obvious. The words in the original are, *Quidam autem hoc dicunt tantum per bonos fieri, alii per omnes qui verba consecrationis sciunt*; and the reason of the obscurity is, that, as I shall hereafter show, they did not allow any but pastors to administer the eucharist.

† There appears something like a consciousness about Reinerius, that in this monstrous accusation he was calumniating the Waldenses, for in the following words he qualifies the charge by describing them as not avowing it. The reader will presently see their sentiments on the subject of marriage, and be convinced of the foulness of this slander. I shall, therefore, at present, only quote from their own apology a short extract, in which they repel the charge of countenancing lasciviousness. "It was this vice," say they, "that led David to procure the death of his faithful servant, that he might enjoy his wife—and Amnon to defile his sister Tamar. This vice consumes the estates of

conceal as much as possible, that they may not be reproached therewith. If any honest woman among them that has the repute of chastity, is brought to bed of a child, they carefully conceal it, and send it abroad to be nursed, that it may not be known. They hold all oaths to be unlawful, and a mortal sin, yet they dispense with them when it is done to avoid death, lest they should betray their accomplices, or the secret of their infidelity. They hold it to be an unpardonable sin to betray a heretic, yea the very sin against the Holy Ghost. They say that malefactors ought not to be put to death by the secular power. Some of them hold it unlawful to kill brute animals, as fishes, or the like; but when they have a mind to eat them, they hang them over the fire or smoke till they die. Fleas and such sort of insects they shake off their clothes, or else dip their clothes in hot water, supposing them thus to be dead of themselves.* Thus they cheat their own consciences in this and other observances. From whence we may see, that having forsaken truth, they deceive themselves with their own false notions. According to them, there is no purgatory, and all that die, immediately pass either into heaven or hell. That therefore the prayers of the church for the dead are of no use, because those that are in heaven do not want them, nor can those that are in hell be relieved by them. And from thence they infer, that all offerings made for the dead are only of use to the clergymen that eat them, and not to the deceased, who are

any, as it is said of the prodigal son, who wasted his substance in riotous living. Balaam made choice of this vice to provoke the children of Israel to sin, which occasioned the death of twenty-four thousand persons. This sin was the occasion of Sampson's losing his sight; it perverted Solomon, and many have perished through the beauty of a woman. The remedies for this sin are fasting, prayer, and keeping at a distance from it. Other vices may be subdued by fighting; in this we conquer by flight; of which we have an example in Joseph."—*Perrin's Hist.* ch. iv.

* Many will think that Reinerius must have been at a great loss for substantial grounds of accusation against the Waldenses, when he could condescend to enumerate such childish things as these.

incapable of being profited by them. They hold, that the saints in heaven do not hear the prayers of the faithful, nor regard the honours which are done to them, because their bodies lie dead here beneath, and their spirits are at so great a distance from us in heaven, that they can neither hear our prayers nor see the honours which we pay them. They add, that the saints do not pray for us, and that therefore, we are not to entreat their intercession, because, being swallowed up with heavenly joy, they cannot attend to us, nor indeed to any thing else. Hence they deride all the festivals which we celebrate in honour of the saints, and all other instances of our veneration for them. Accordingly, wherever they can do it, they secretly work upon holy-days, arguing, that since working is good, it cannot be evil to do that which is good on a holy-day. They do not observe Lent, or other fasts of the church, alleging that God does not delight in the afflictions of his friends, as being able to save without them. Some heretics indeed afflict themselves with fasting, watchings, and the like, because without these they cannot obtain the reputation of being holy among the simple people, nor deceive them by their feigned hypocrisy. They do not receive the Old Testament, but the Gospel only, that they may not be overthrown by it, but rather be able to defend themselves therewith; pretending that upon the introduction of the gospel dispensation all old things were to be laid aside.* In like manner they select the choicest sayings and authorities of the holy fathers, such as Augustine, Jerome, Gregory, Chrysostom, and Isidore, that with them they may support their opinions, oppose others, or the more easily seduce the simple, by varnishing over their sacrilegious doctrine with the good sentences of the saints, at the same time very quietly passing over those parts of the writings of the holy fathers that oppose and confute their errors. Such as

* This is precisely the charge which was brought against the Paulicians; see *note*, Vol. I. ch. iii. sect. 4. and the remarks there offered upon it.

are teachable and eloquent among them, they instruct to get the words of the gospel, as well as the sayings of the apostles, and other holy men by heart, that they may be able to inform others, and draw in believers, beautifying their sect with the goodly words of the saints, that the things they persuade and recommend may pass for sound and wholesome doctrine;—thus by their soft speeches deceiving the hearts of the simple. And not only the men, but even their women also teach* amongst them, because women have an easier access to those of their own sex, to pervert them, that afterwards, by their means, the men may be perverted also, as the serpent deceived Adam by means of Eve. They teach their disciples to speak in dark and obscure words, and instead of speaking truth, to endeavour to speak lies; that when they are asked about one thing, they might perversely answer about another, and thus craftily deceive their hearers, especially when they fear that by confessing the truth, they should discover their errors. In the same dissembling manner they frequent our churches, are present at divine service, offer at the altar, receive the sacrament, confess to the priests, observe the church fasts, celebrate festivals, and receive the priest's blessing, reverently bowing their heads, though in the mean-time they scoff at all these institutions of the church, looking upon them as profane and hurtful. They say it is sufficient for their salvation if they confess to God, and not to man."

Such is the view which Reinerius gave of the principles of the Waldenses, about eighty years subsequent to the times of Peter Waldo; and we must understand this de-

* The reader must not understand the teaching here alluded to as referring to public teaching in the church, for the Waldenses permitted nothing of that kind in their females, and the Scriptures pointedly forbid it: but he refers to their mode of propagating their sentiments *by conversation*, and I shall have an opportunity of showing, in a future section, from the writings of this same Reinerius, the very simple and striking manner in which they did this.

scription as applicable to one general class of Christians, scattered throughout the south of France, the valleys of the Pyrenean mountains, the valleys of Piedmont, and the country of the Milanese; though probably distinguished in different places by the different names of Puritans, or Catharists, Paterines, Arnoldists, Leonists, Albigenses, or Waldenses, the last of which ultimately became their more general appellation.* No doubt there were shades of difference in sentiment among them on points of minor importance, even as there are among Christians in the present day; and it is very certain that the Catholic writers sometimes class under the general name of Waldenses or Albigenses, persons whose theological sentiments and religious practices were very opposite to those which were professed by the followers of Peter Waldo. "The practice of confounding heretics of all kinds in one common herd," says Mr. Robinson, "hath been an ancient custom with ecclesiastical historians, and it hath obscured history."† This is a very just remark, and the reader who would not be imposed upon by those writers, will find it of great importance to attend to it. He himself, however, tells us that the Albigenses were Manichæans,‡ or nearly so, and

* "Nothing is so well known to the curious in these matters, as the following verses upon the Vaudois (*Waldenses*) in the year 1100—

Que non vogli maudir ne jura, ne mentir,
N'occir, ne avoutrar, ne prenre de altrui,
Ne s' avengear deli suo ennemi,
Loz dison qu' es Vaudes & los feson morir.

THAT IS

Whosoever refuses to curse, to swear, to lie, to kill, to commit adultery, to steal, to be revenged of his enemy—they say he is a VAUDOIS, and therefore they put him to death." *Voltaire's Gen. History*, ch. lxix.

† *Eccles. Researches*, p. 463.

‡ The sect of the Manichæans derived its origin from a person of the name of Manes, or Manichæus, as he is sometimes called by his disciples. He was by birth a Persian, educated among the magi, and himself one of their number before he embraced the profession of Christianity, about the end of the third century. His doctrine was a motley mixture of the tenets of Christianity, with the ancient philoso-

that they differed from the Vaudois and Waldenses. That individuals, or even a sect, holding those wild and extra-

phy of the Persians, in which he had been instructed during his youth. The following view of his system is given by Dr. Mosheim, Vol. I. Cent. iii. ch. v. "That there are two principles from which all things proceed—the one a most pure and subtle matter, called LIGHT, the other a gross and corrupt substance called DARKNESS. The being who presides over light is called God—he that rules the land of darkness bears the name of Hyle, or Demon. The ruler of the light is supremely happy, and consequently benevolent and good—the prince of darkness is unhappy in himself, and desiring to render others partakers of his misery, is evil and malignant. These two beings have produced an immense multitude of creatures, resembling themselves, whom they have distributed through their respective provinces. He held that Christ is that glorious intelligence whom the Persians called Mithras—a splendid substance, endowed with life, and having his residence in the sun. The Holy Ghost, a luminous and animated body diffused throughout every part of the atmosphere which surrounds this terrestrial globe. He held that the God of the Jews was the prince of darkness—affirmed that the Old Testament was not the word of God, but of the prince of darkness, and rejected as spurious the four Gospels, and indeed most of the canonical scriptures—maintained the transmigration of souls," &c., &c.

It is really surprising that Mr. Robinson, the acute, the ingenious, the liberal minded Mr. Robinson, should have charged the Albigenses with adopting this absurd system, without producing any evidence to support such an opinion. Few writers have combated the foul misrepresentations of the Catholics with more zeal and success than he has done; but in this instance he has joined their senseless clamour against the Albigenses. It is a very questionable point, whether the sect of the Manichæans had any existence at the period of which Mr. R. is treating, and I am strongly inclined to think they had not, at least in Europe. But even though that could be proved, I may venture to affirm that it was utterly out of the power of Mr. R. or any other person to produce from the confessions, catechisms, testimonies, or conduct of the Albigenses the least trace of Manichæism. I am tempted on this occasion to adopt the lofty language of Dr. Allix, when defending the Piedmontese Waldenses from the same charge brought against them by the Catholic bishop Bossuet. "I defy the impudence of the devil himself," says he, "to find in their writings the least shadow of Manichæism." *Remarks*, ch. 17. The fact is, that, on this subject, the catholic writers misled Mosheim and Limborch; and these latter historians have misled Mr. Robinson. Indeed an impartial reader will easily perceive throughout this gentleman's account of "the Valleys of Piedmont," in his Ecclesiastical Researches, the strongest indications of a *jaundiced eye*. Speaking of Leger's History of the Wal-

vagant opinions, may have existed at that time, and been classed by the catholic writers under the head of Albigenses, is not impossible, though I have met with no evidence that puts the fact beyond dispute; and the historians of the latter gave a very easy and natural solution of the reason of their being accused of Manichæism. But, whatever may be in this, the following facts are indisputable; that the general body of the Albigenses received the doctrines of Peter Waldo—that these doctrines had no connexion with Manichæism—and that the Waldenses and Albigenses were two branches of the same sect, inhabiting different countries, each deriving its appellation from its local residence.

In the sketch which Reinerius has furnished of the principles of the Waldenses, it is to be remarked, that there is not the slightest allusion to any erroneous opinions maintained by them, regarding the faith and doctrines of the gospel, and this is a noble testimony to the soundness of their creed. For having himself been connected with them,—a man of learning and talents, he doubtless was intimately acquainted with their doctrinal sentiments; and, having apostatized from their profession and become their determined adversary, he did not want inclination to bring forward any accusation against them which could be done with the smallest regard to decency on his own part. The errors of which he accuses them (a few instances excepted, and on which they repelled his slanderous charges) are such as no protestant dissenter of the present day would shrink from the odium which is connected with holding, since they will all be found in one way or other to resolve

denses, he adds, “Orthodoxy is proved and overproved in it, for *it will be allowed* that an apostolical church with the Athanasian creed is above par.” He cannot therefore believe that the Catholics inflicted upon the “poor Waldenses,” the horrible cruelties which are detailed by Leger, though he has no difficulty in believing them to have inflicted cruelties full as great upon others!!

themselves into the unfounded claims of the clergy, or the introduction of human traditions and the basest superstition into the worship of God.

It will be recollected that, towards the close of the former section, it was stated that Peter Waldo, after disseminating his doctrines in France and Germany, was at last driven into BOHEMIA, where he spent the last years of his life in preaching the gospel, which he did with the most astonishing success. That kingdom comprehended what is now included in the dutchy of Silesia, and the marquisate of Moravia. The country is about three hundred miles long and two hundred and fifty broad, almost wholly surrounded with impenetrable forests and lofty mountains. The soil, where it is cultivated, is fruitful, and yields corn enough for the use of its inhabitants, which are computed at three millions in number, leaving a considerable surplus, frequently, for exportation. Its pasture-lands produce abundance of cattle, particularly horses fit for war. They have inexhaustible mines of gold, silver, copper, tin, iron, lead, sulphur, and nitre; and their carbuncles, emeralds, and other precious stones, are vended all over Europe. Crantz, who wrote the history of the Bohemian brethren, mentions a colony of Waldenses as obtaining permission to settle at Saltz and Laun, on the river Eger, so early as the twelfth century, which, the coincidence of time renders it highly probable, refers to the persecuted Waldo and his brethren. Certain it is, that his labours were crowned with great success in that country; and we have two noted authors who have left us a particular account of the faith and practices of the Waldenses in Bohemia, during the fourteenth century, at which time their numbers had increased very considerably, and they had to sustain the fire of papal persecution. The first is an inquisitor of the church of Rome, who says, "*he had exact knowledge of the Waldenses,*" at whose trials he had often assisted, in several countries. The other is ÆNEAS SYLVIUS, who wrote the history of Bo-

hemia, and afterwards ascended the pontifical chair with the title of Pope Pius II. Thus writes the inquisitor concerning the Waldenses of Bohemia.

The first error of the Waldenses, says he, is, that they affirm the church of Rome is not the church of Jesus Christ, but an assembly of ungodly men, and that she has ceased from being the true church, from the time of Pope Sylvester, at which time the poison of temporal advantages was cast into the church—That all vices and sins reign in that church, and that *they* alone live righteously—That they are the true church of Christ, and that the church of Rome is the whore mentioned in the Revelation. They despise and reject all the ordinances and statutes of the church as being too many and very burdensome. They insist that the pope is the head and leader of all error—That the prelates are the scribes and seemingly religious pharisees—That the popes and their bishops, on account of the wars they foment, are murderers—That our obedience is due to God alone, and not to prelates, which they found on Acts iv. 9. —That none in the church ought to be greater than their brethren, according to Matth. xx. 25, &c.—That no man ought to kneel to a priest, because the angel said to John, Rev. xix. 10. “See thou do it not”—That tythes ought not to be given to priests, because there was no use of them in the primitive church—That the clergy ought not to enjoy any temporal possessions, because it was said in the law, “The tribe of Levi shall have no inheritance with the children of Israel, the sacrifices being their portion,” Deut. xviii.—That it is wrong to endow and found churches and monasteries, and that nothing ought to be bequeathed to churches by way of legacy. They condemn the clergy for their idleness, saying they ought to work with their hands as the apostles did. They reject all the titles of prelates, as pope, bishop, &c. They affirm that no man ought to be forcibly compelled in matters of faith. They condemn all ecclesiastical offices, and the privileges and immunities of the church, and all persons and things belonging

to it, such as councils and synods, parochial rights, &c., declaring that the observances of the *religious* are nothing else than pharisaical traditions.

As to the second class of their errors—They condemn all the sacraments of the church. Concerning the sacrament of baptism they say, that the catechism signifies nothing, that the absolution pronounced over infants avails them nothing—that the godfathers and godmothers do not understand what they answer the priest. That the oblation which is called *Al wogen* is nothing but a mere human invention. They reject all exorcisms and blessings. Concerning the eucharist they say, that a wicked priest cannot celebrate that sacrament—that transubstantiation is not performed by the hands of him who celebrates unworthily, and that it (the eucharist) may be celebrated on our common tables, alleging for this the words of Malachi i. 11. “In every place shall a pure offering be offered to my name.” They condemn the custom of believers communicating no more than once a year, whereas they communicate daily.* That the mass signifies nothing; that the apostles knew nothing of it; and that it is only done for gain. They reject the canon of the mass, and only make use of the words of Christ in the vulgar tongue—affirming that the offering made by the priest in the mass is of no value. They reject the kiss of peace, that of the altar, of the priest’s hands, and the pope’s feet. They condemn marriage *as a sacrament*, saying that those that enter into the state of marriage without hope of children, are guilty of sin. They have no regard to the degrees of carnal or spiritual affinity in marriage, which the church observes, nor the impediments of order and public decency, or to the prohibition of the church in that matter. They contend that a woman after child-birth doth not stand in need of any blessing or churching. That it was an error

* I suspect this should have been “every Lord’s day, or first day of the week,” for it is certain they did not come together for worship *every day*; nor indeed was the thing practicable.

of the church to forbid the clergy to marry. They disallow the sacrament of extreme unction—they hold the sacrament of different orders of the clergy to be of no use, every good layman being a priest, and the apostles themselves being all laymen. That the preaching of a wicked priest cannot profit any body, and that which is uttered in the Latin tongue can be of no use to those laymen who do not understand it. They deride the tonsure of priests; and reproach the church that she raiseth bastards, boys and notorious sinners to high ecclesiastical dignities.—Whatsoever is preached without scripture proof, they account no better than fables. They hold that the Holy Scripture is of the same efficacy in the vulgar tongue as in Latin, and accordingly they communicate and administer the sacraments in the vulgar tongue. They can say a great part of the old and new Testament by heart. They despise the decretals, and expositions of holy men, and cleave only to the text of scripture. They condemn excommunication, neither do they value absolution, which they expect alone from God. They reject the indulgences of the church, and deride its dispensations. They admit none for saints except the apostles, and they pray to no saint. They condemn the canonization, translation, and vigils of the saints. They laugh at those laymen who choose themselves saints at the altar. They never read the liturgy. They give no credit to the legends of the saints, make a mock of the saints' miracles, and despise their relics. They abhor the wood of the cross, because of Christ's suffering on it; neither do they sign themselves with it. They contend that the doctrine of Christ and his apostles is sufficient to salvation without any church statutes and ordinances, and affirm that the traditions of the church were no better than the traditions of the Pharisees—insisting, moreover, that greater stress is laid on the observation of human tradition, than on the keeping of the law of God. They refute the mystical sense of scripture, especially as delivered in sayings and actions,

and published by the church, such as that the cock upon steeples signifies the pastor !

Their third class of errors is as follows. They condemn all approved ecclesiastical customs which they do not read of in the gospel, such as the observation of Candlemas, Palm-Sunday, the reconciliation of penitents, the adoration of the cross on Good-Friday. They despise the feast of Easter, and all other festivals of Christ and the saints, and say that one day is as good as another, working upon holy-days, where they can do it without being taken notice of. They disregard the church fasts, alleging Isa. lviii. "Is this the fast that I have chosen?" They deride and mock at all dedications, consecrations, and benedictions of candles, ashes, palm-branches, oil, fire, wax-candles, *Agnus Dei's*, churching of women, strangers, holy places and persons, vestments, salt and water. They look upon the church built of stone to be no better than a common barn, neither do they believe that God dwells there, quoting Acts vii. 48. "God doth not dwell in temples made with hands"—and that prayers offered up in them are of no more efficacy than those which we offer up in our closets, according to Matt. vi. 6. "But thou when thou prayest, enter into thy closet." They set no value on the dedication of churches, and call the ornaments of the altar "the sin of the church," saying, that it would be much better to clothe the poor than to decorate walls. Of the altar they say, that it is wastefulness to let so much cloth lie rotting upon the stones; and that Christ never gave to his disciples vests, or rockets, or mitres. They celebrate the eucharist in their household cups, and say that the *corporal*, or cloth on which the host is laid, is no holier than the cloth of their breeches. Concerning lights used in the church, they say that God, who is the true light, stands in no need of light, and that it can have no further use than to hinder the priests from stumbling in the dark. They reject all censings; estimating holy water no better than common water. The images and

pictures in the church they pronounce to be idolatrous. They mock at the singing [chanting] in churches, saying that the efficacy is in the words and not in the music. They deride the cries of the laymen, and reject all festival processions, as those of Easter, as well as mournful processions at Rogation week and at funerals. They laugh at the custom of bringing sick persons on a bench before the altar. They dissuade people from going on a pilgrimage to Rome, and other places beyond sea, though they themselves pretend to go on pilgrimage, whereas it is only with a design to visit their bishops who live in Lombardy. They express no value for the Lord's sepulchre, nor for those of the saints, and condemn the burying in churches, which they found on Matth. xxiii. 29. "Wo unto you scribes and pharisees, because ye build the tombs," &c., and would prefer burying in the field to the churchyard, were they not afraid of the church. They maintain that the offices for the dead, masses for the deceased, offerings, funeral pomps, last wills, legacies, visiting of graves, the reading of vigils, anniversary of masses, and similar suffrages, are of no avail to departed souls. They condemn watching with the dead by night, because of the folly and wickedness which are practised on those occasions.

They hold all these errors because they deny purgatory, saying that there are only two ways, the one of the elect to heaven, the other of the damned to hell, according to Eccles. xi. 3. "Which way soever the tree falleth, there it must lie." They contend that a good man stands in no need of any intercessions, and that they cannot profit those that are wicked—That all sins are mortal, and none of them venial—That once praying in the words of the Lord's prayer is of more efficacy than the ringing of ten bells, yea, the mass itself. They think that all swearing is sinful, because Christ says, Matt. v. 34. "Swear not at all, but let your communication be yea, yea, and nay, nay." They are against punishing malefactors with death, which they found on Rom. xii. 19. "Vengeance is mine; I will repay,

saith the Lord.”*—Thus far the testimony of this inquisitor; to which I shall now subjoin the short account which the celebrated Æneas Sylvius gives of the Waldenses of Bohemia, in his history of that kingdom.

They hold, says he, that the Pope of Rome is not superior to bishops, and that there is no difference (as to rank or dignity) among priests—That priesthood itself is not a dignity, for that grace and virtue only give the preference—That the souls of the deceased are either immediately plunged into hell, or advanced to eternal joys [in heaven.]—That there is no purgatory fire—that it is a vain thing to pray for the dead, and merely an invention of priestly covetousness—That the images of God and of the saints ought to be destroyed—That the blessing of water and palm branches is ridiculous—That the religion of the Mendicants [begging Friars] was invented by evil spirits—That priests ought to be poor, and content themselves with alms—That every one has liberty to preach [or instruct]—No capital sin ought to be tolerated under pretence of avoiding a greater evil—That he who is guilty of mortal sin, ought not to enjoy any ecclesiastical dignity—That the confirmation which is celebrated with anointing and extreme unction, is none of the sacraments of the church of Christ—That auricular confession is a piece of foppery—that every one ought, in his closet, to confess his sins to God—That baptism ought to be administered without the addition of holy oil—That the use of churchyards is vain, and nothing but a covetous invention, and that it signifies nothing in what ground the bodies of the dead are laid—That the temple of the great God is the universe, and that to build churches, monasteries, and oratories to him, under the supposition that the divine goodness could be more favourably found in them than in other places, is a limiting the divine majesty—That the priestly vestments, altar, orna-

* Hist. Script. Bohem. p. 222. et seq. in Dr. Allix's Remarks, p. 211—219.

ments, palls, corporals, chalices, patins, and other vessels, are of no efficacy—That it is vain to implore the suffrages of the saints reigning with Christ in heaven, because they cannot help us—That it is to no purpose to spend one's time in singing and saying the canonical hours—That we are to cease from working on no day except the Lord's day—That the holy-days of saints are to be rejected, and that there is no merit in observing the fasts instituted by the church.*

CLAUDIUS SEISSELIUS, was archbishop of Turin, towards the close of the fifteenth century, a little before the time of the reformation, and wrote a treatise against the Waldenses. His residence in the very heart of the valleys of Piedmont must have furnished him with the best opportunities of becoming acquainted with the principles and practices of his nonconformist neighbours, and he has transmitted to posterity a narrative sufficiently circumstantial and explicit to enable any impartial person to form a tolerably correct judgment of them. His testimony is, therefore, of too much importance to be omitted; but I must entreat the reader to bear in mind that it is the testimony of an adversary, whose papal zeal he will perceive to blaze forth against them occasionally with no little fury. Alluding to the churches of the Waldenses in Piedmont, and those scattered throughout the diocese of Italy, he tells us, that the most cruel persecutions had not been able to extirpate them, or hinder them from a constant defence of that doctrine which they had received from their ancestors.

“All sorts of people,” says he, “have repeatedly endeavoured, but in vain, to root them out; for even yet, contrary to the opinion of all men, they still remain conquerors, or at least wholly invincible.” He then proceeds thus to describe them. “The Pope of Rome, and the rest of the prelates and priests of that church,” these Waldenses affirm, “neither follow the life nor the precepts of Christ,

* Hist. Bohem. p. 141. *ubi supra*.

but do quite the contrary; and that not only in secret but so openly and manifestly that it can no longer be disguised, because they chiefly value themselves on things that are contrary to religion, and not only condemn but even mock at the precepts of the Apostles. The latter lived in great poverty, humility, chastity, continence as to carnal things, and contempt of the world; whereas we prelates and priests live in great pomp, luxuriousness, and dissoluteness. We think it a brave thing to excel in royal power rather than in sacerdotal sanctity; and all our endeavours and studies tend only to the acquisition of glory amongst men, not by means of virtue, holiness, and learning, but by the abundance of all [temporal] things; by arms and warlike magnificence, and by vast expense in equipage, furniture of horses, gold, and other things of that nature. The Apostles would not possess any thing as their own, neither would they receive any into their society who had not forsaken all and laid it in common: whereas we, not contented with what we already possess, fish for other people's goods more greedily and impudently than heathen themselves. Hence it is that we make wars, and incite Christian princes and people to take up arms. The apostles travelling through towns and villages, and sowing the word of God with power, exercised many other offices of charity, according to the several gifts they had received; whereas we, not only do nothing like this, and give no good examples of holy conversation, but on the contrary frequently resist and oppose those that do, thus opening the way to all manner of dissoluteness and avarice. They, as it were, against their wills and with reluctance, by the divine command or inspiration of God, received ordination to promote the salvation of others: whereas we buy benefices and preferments for money, or procure them by force, or through the favour of princes and other indirect means, merely to satiate our lusts, to enrich our relations, and for the sake of worldly glory. Moreover, they spent their lives in manifold fastings, watchings, and labours,

terrified neither by trouble nor danger, that they might show to others the way of salvation: whereas we pass our time in idleness, in pleasures, and other earthly or wicked things. They, despising gold and silver, as they had freely received the divine grace, so they freely dispensed it to others: whereas we set all holy things to sale, and barter with the heavenly treasures of God himself, and, in a word, confound all things both divine and human. So that the church of Rome cannot be said to be the spouse of Christ, but that common prostitute described by Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and St. John in the Revelation, in such lively colours. For Christ hath joined his church to him to be his bride, holy, pure, fair, adorned with the ornaments and jewels of every virtue, without spot or wrinkle, such as the Holy Spirit figuratively describes her in the Canticles. Far be it, therefore, that Christ should ever think of changing this his beautiful and lovely bride for such a stinking, loathsome harlot."

Further, Seisselius thus proceeds. "We do not deny, say the Waldenses, that God alone is the searcher of hearts, for, as the Scriptures saith, 'He searcheth the heart and trieth the reins;' and therefore that he alone knows whether the works of men are pleasing unto him, and obtain his favour, which others can only know by conjecture. But he himself hath taught us how to form our judgment when he saith, 'Ye shall know them by their fruits; for an evil tree cannot bring forth good fruit, nor a good tree evil fruit.' Hence though it be a difficult thing to judge of good works, because they receive their value from the intention of the doer, yet wicked works discover themselves, and the intention cannot make them good, especially when they are open, barefaced, and obviously repugnant to the law of God. Therefore, if we see the bishops and priests every day living in dissoluteness and luxury, robbing others of their goods, smiting their neighbours, persecuting those that are good, blaspheming the name of God, prodigally wasting the patrimony of the church in voluptuousness and

damnable crimes, may we not undoubtedly affirm, that they who commit these things are not the ministers of God, but his public and avowed enemies? Surely such they are, though we should suppose them created or confirmed by an universal synod of Christians, or by the Pope, or by Peter himself. But how much more may we conclude them such, when those that ordain them are worse than themselves, and their works obviously worse than theirs? What shall we say, if it appear that they have publicly and notoriously bought the papacy—that they openly set to sale sacerdotal functions, and that they set over the churches, not by mistake but out of malice, those who are known to be wholly unworthy of that charge, and who never in all their lifetime did any thing worthy either of a priest, or even of a Christian? Shall we obey such priests and prelates, who lead us the way to salvation neither by word nor work, but rather endeavour all they can to drag us into the same pit of destruction as themselves? Doth not our Saviour tell us that we must not suffer ourselves to be led by blind guides, lest when one blind man leads another they both fall into the ditch? Hath he not declared that such as these are cut off from the life of the church and the body of Christ, and destined to the fire? How can he be the vicegerent of Christ, who is not so much as a Christian, or a member of the mystical body of Christ, but whom he commands us to avoid as a heathen and publican, so long as he continues incorrigible.

“The apostolic authority, the faith of Peter, which Christ said should not fail the Catholic church, and with which church he promiseth to abide for ever, is to be found amongst us who walk after the example of the apostles, and according to our weak measure, observe the commands and ordinances they have given us. We are those of whom the apostle Paul speaks in his Epistle to the Corinthians, ‘Brethren, consider your calling, that ye are not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble; but God hath chosen the foolish things of this world

to confound the wise; and the weak things of this world to confound the things that are mighty; and the base things of this world, and things that are despised, yea and the things that are not, to bring to nought the things that are.' And the same apostle tells us, that he was sent to preach the gospel, not in the mightiness of man's wisdom, but in plainness and simplicity; alleging to this purpose what the Lord saith elsewhere, 'I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will bring to nought the prudence of the prudent.'"

Such is the description given us, by the archbishop of Turin, of the Waldenses of Piedmont, before Luther was born, or Calvin thought of, or the term Reformation even mentioned. And yet the Catholics have had the effrontery to ask us, "Where was your religion before Luther?" But let us further attend to the account which he gives us of the articles of their faith. On this particular he thus writes.

"They receive only what is written in the Old and New Testaments. They say that the Popes of Rome and other priests have corrupted the Scriptures by their doctrines and glosses—that they owe neither tythes nor first-fruits to the clergy—that the consecration of churches, indulgences, and similar benedictions, are the inventions of false priests. They do not celebrate the festivals of the saints. They say that men do not stand in need of the suffrages of the saints, Christ abundantly sufficing in all things. They affirm that marriage may be contracted in any degree, excepting only one or two at the most; as if the Popes had no power to prohibit marriage in any other degrees! They say that whatever is done to deliver the souls of the dead from the pains of purgatory is useless, lost, and superstitious—that our priests have not the power of forgiving sins. They say that they alone observe the evangelic and apostolic doctrine, on which account, *by an intolerable impudence*, they usurp the name of the Catholic Church! Their barbs [pastors] do greatly err" saith Seisselius, "because they are neither sent of God, nor by the pastors of the [Catholic]

church, but of the devil, *as appears from their damnable doctrines*. They say that the authority of hearing confessions belongs to all Christians that walk according to the apostolic precepts, (which their barbs attribute to themselves) because the apostle James saith, ‘Confess your faults one to another.’ They say that we ought not to have any kind of [set form of] prayer, except it appear that it was composed by some certain [inspired] author, and approved of God. Their barbs have often preached this doctrine to abolish the service of the glorious Virgin and other saints. They do not think that Christians ought to say the angelical salutation to the mother of God, alleging that it has not the form of a prayer, but a salutation : but that they do only that they may rob the Virgin of this service, saying, that it is not lawful to worship or serve her any more than the rest of the saints. They affirm, that the blessings of the priests are of no virtue at all. Did not Christ bless the bread in the desert ? When the apostles sat down to eat bread, they blessed what was set upon the table. They say there is no need of holy water in the churches, because neither Christ nor his apostles either made it or commanded it : as if we ought to say or do nothing but what we read was done by them. They say, that the indulgences allowed of by the church are despicable, useless things—that the souls of the dead, without being tried by any purgation, immediately on their parting from the body enter into happiness or misery ; and that the clergy, blinded by their covetousness, have invented purgatory. They say that the saints cannot take notice of what is done here below. They detest and abhor all images, and the sign of the cross, much more than we honour them. They make no distinction between the worship of *Latria*, which is due to God only, and that of *Dulia*, which belongs to the saints. As to the fasts which the Catholic church have instituted for the honour of God and the saints, they have yet less reason to object these to us. They affirm that a lie is always a mortal sin, because

David says, ‘God shall destroy all liars.’” And as to transubstantiation he tells us, “That the Waldenses made a mock of all the artifices which the Catholics had recourse to with the view of making it appear to them more plausible.” Upon this part of their conduct, the reflections of the learned archbishop are sufficiently pertinent to be here introduced. “I think,” saith he, “that those took pains to little purpose, who when writing against this sect, made it their chief business to insist upon the difficulties about the sacrament of the eucharist, and who in order to clear them, have spoken so sharply and subtilely, not to say confusedly, that I have great reason to doubt whether they ever understood the things themselves. Yet I will not say that because I do not myself comprehend it, (*for that I ingenuously confess*) I think it also to surpass the capacity of others, but because it has always appeared to me to be a point of that difficulty, that the ablest have been ready to own that the strength of human understanding must in this case be subject to faith.”

SECTION III.

A view of the Doctrinal Sentiments and Religious Practices of the Waldenses, collected from their own writings.

HAVING in the former section laid before the reader the sentiments imputed to the Waldenses by four of their avowed adversaries, there can be no reasonable objection to our now permitting them to make their own apology. Their historian, John Paul Perrin, in his “*Histoire des Vaudois*,” published at Geneva in 1619, has furnished us with two of their “Confessions of faith,” of which the following are faithful translations. Sir Samuel Morland has fixed the date of the first of them in the year 1120.*

* Morland’s *History of the Churches of Piedmont*, p. 30.

THE CONFESSION OF FAITH OF THE WALDENSES.

1. We believe and firmly maintain all that is contained in the twelve articles of the symbol, commonly called the apostles' creed, and we regard as heretical whatever is inconsistent with the said twelve articles.

2. We believe that there is one God,—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

3. We acknowledge for sacred canonical scriptures the books of the Holy Bible. (Here follows the title of each, exactly conformable to our received canon, but which it is deemed, on that account, quite unnecessary to particularize.)

4. The books above mentioned teach us—That there is ONE GOD, almighty, unbounded in wisdom, and infinite in goodness, and who, in his goodness, has made all things. For he created Adam after his own image and likeness. But through the enmity of the devil and his own disobedience, Adam fell, sin entered into the world, and we became transgressors in and by Adam.

5. That Christ had been promised to the fathers who received the law, to the end that, knowing their sin by the law, and their unrighteousness, and insufficiency, they might desire the coming of Christ to make satisfaction for their sins, and to accomplish the law by himself.

6. That at the time appointed of the Father, Christ was born—a time when iniquity every where abounded, to make it manifest that it was not for the sake of any good in ourselves, for all were sinners, but that He, who is true, might display his grace and mercy toward us.

7. That Christ is our life, and truth, and peace, and righteousness—our shepherd and advocate, our sacrifice and priest, who died for the salvation of all who should believe, and rose again for our justification.

8. And we also firmly believe, that there is no other mediator, or advocate with God the Father, but Jesus Christ. And as to the Virgin Mary, she was holy, humble, and full

of grace; and this we also believe concerning all other saints, namely, that they are waiting in heaven for the resurrection of their bodies at the day of judgment.

9. We also believe, that, after this life, there are but two places—one for those that are saved, the other for the damned, which [two] we call paradise and hell, wholly denying that imaginary purgatory of Antichrist, invented in opposition to the truth.

10. Moreover, we have ever regarded all the inventions of men (in the affairs of religion) as an unspeakable abomination before God; such as the festival days and vigils of saints, and what is called holy water, the abstaining from flesh on certain days, and such like things, but above all, the masses.

11. We hold in abhorrence all human inventions as proceeding from Antichrist, which produce distress,* and are prejudicial to the liberty of the mind.

12. We consider the Sacraments as signs of holy things, or as the visible emblems of invisible blessings. We regard it as proper and even necessary that believers use these symbols or visible forms when it can be done. Notwithstanding which, we maintain that believers may be saved without these signs, when they have neither place nor opportunity of observing them.

13. We acknowledge no sacraments (as of divine appointment) but baptism and the Lord's supper.

14. We honour the secular powers, with subjection, obedience, promptitude, and payment.†



SECOND CONFESSION.

The Centuriators of Magdeburgh in their History of the Christian church, under *the twelfth century*, recite from an

* Alluding probably to the voluntary penances and mortification imposed by the Catholics on themselves.

† Perrin's Hist. des Vaudois, ch. xii.

old manuscript the following epitome of the opinions of the Waldenses of that age.

In articles of faith the authority of the Holy Scripture is the highest ; and for that reason it is the standard of judging ; so that whatsoever doth not agree with the word of God, is deservedly to be rejected and avoided.

The decrees of Fathers and Councils are (only) so far to be approved as they agree with the word of God.

The reading and knowledge of the Holy Scriptures is open to, and is necessary for all men, the laity as well as the clergy ; and moreover the writings of the prophets and apostles are to be read rather than the comments of men.

The sacraments of the church of Christ are two, baptism and the Lord's supper : and in the latter, Christ has instituted the receiving in both kinds, both for priests and people.

Masses are impious ; and it is madness to say masses for the dead.

Purgatory is the invention of men ; for they who believe go into eternal life ; they who believe not into eternal damnation.

The invoking and worshipping of dead saints is idolatry.

The church of Rome is the whore of Babylon.

We must not obey the Pope and bishops, because they are the wolves of the church of Christ.

The pope hath not the primacy over all the churches of Christ ; neither hath he the power of both swords.

That is the church of Christ, which hears the pure doctrine of Christ, and observes the ordinances instituted by him, in whatsoever place it exist.

Vows of celibacy are the inventions of men, and productive of uncleanness.

So many orders [of the clergy] so many marks of the beast.

Monkery is a filthy carcass.

So many superstitious dedications of churches, commemorations of the dead, benedictions of creatures, pilgrimages, so many forced fastings, so many superfluous festivals, those perpetual bellowings, [alluding to the practice of chanting] and the observations of various other ceremonies, manifestly obstructing the teaching and learning of the word, are *diabolical inventions*.

The marriage of priests is both lawful and necessary.

About the time of the Reformation, the Waldenses who resided in the south of France, and who of course were subjects of the French king, were persecuted with the most sanguinary severity, particularly those resident in the country of Provence. In the year 1540, the parliament of Aix, the chief judicature of the province, passed a law that "they should all of them promiscuously be destroyed, that their houses should be pulled down, the town of Merindole be levelled with the ground, all the trees cut down, and the country adjacent converted into a desert. Voltaire, speaking of this cruel decree, says, "The Waldenses, terrified at this sentence, sent a deputation to cardinal Sadoletus, bishop of Carpentras, who at that time was in his diocess. This illustrious scholar, this true philosopher, this humane and compassionate prelate, received them with great goodness, and interceded in their behalf, and the execution of the sentence was for a time suspended."* The sentence, nevertheless, was executed in all its rigour five years afterwards, as will be related in a future section. In the preceding year, however, (1544,) as we are informed by Sleidan, in his history of the Reformation, p. 347, the Waldenses, to remove the prejudices that were entertained against them, and to manifest their innocence, transmitted to the king, in writing, the following Confession of their Faith.

* Voltaire's Univ. Hist. ch. cxxvi

THIRD CONFESSION.

1. We believe that there is but one God, who is a Spirit—the Creator of all things—the Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in us all; who is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth—upon whom we are continually dependant, and to whom we ascribe praise for our life, food, raiment, health, sickness, prosperity, and adversity. We love him as the source of all goodness; and reverence him as that sublime being, who searcheth the reins and trieth the hearts of the children of men.

2. We believe that Jesus Christ is the Son and image of the Father—that IN HIM all the fulness of the Godhead dwells, and that BY HIM alone we know the Father. He is our Mediator and Advocate; nor is there any other name given under heaven by which we can be saved. In HIS name alone we call upon the Father, using no other prayers than those contained in the Holy Scriptures, or such as are in substance agreeable thereunto.

3. We believe in the Holy Spirit as the Comforter, proceeding from the Father, and from the Son; by whose inspiration we are taught to pray; being by him renewed in the spirit of our minds; who creates us anew unto good works, and from whom we receive the knowledge of the truth.

4. We believe that there is one holy church, comprising the whole assembly of the elect and faithful, that have existed from the beginning of the world, or that shall be to the end thereof. Of this church the Lord Jesus Christ is the head—it is governed by his word and guided by the Holy Spirit. In the church it behooves all Christians to have fellowship. For her he [Christ] prays incessantly, and his prayer for it is most acceptable to God, without which indeed there could be no salvation.

5. We hold that the ministers of the church ought to be unblameable both in life and doctrine; and if found otherwise, that they ought to be deposed from their office,

and others substituted in their stead; and that no person ought to presume to take that honour unto himself, but he who is called of God as was Aaron—that the duties of such are to feed the flock of God, not for filthy lucre's sake, or as having dominion over God's heritage, but as being examples to the flock, in word, in conversation, in charity, in faith, and in chastity.

6. We acknowledge that kings, princes, and governors, are the appointed and established ministers of God, whom we are bound to obey [in all lawful and civil concerns.] For they bear the sword for the defence of the innocent, and the punishment of evil doers; for which reason we are bound to honour and pay them tribute. From this power and authority, no man can exempt himself, as is manifest from the example of the Lord Jesus Christ, who voluntarily paid tribute, not taking upon himself any jurisdiction of temporal power.

7. We believe that in the ordinance of baptism the water is the visible and external sign, which represents to us that which by virtue of God's invisible operation, is within us—namely, the renovation of our minds, and the mortification of our members through [the faith of] Jesus Christ. And by this ordinance, we are received into the holy congregation of God's people, previously professing and declaring our faith and change of life.

8. We hold that the Lord's supper is a commemoration of, and thanksgiving for, the benefits which we have received by his sufferings and death—and that it is to be received in faith and love—examining ourselves, that so we may eat of that bread and drink of that cup, as it is written in the Holy Scriptures.

9. We maintain that marriage was instituted of God—that it is holy and honourable, and ought to be forbidden to none, provided there be no obstacle from the divine word.

10. We contend that all those in whom the fear of God dwells, will thereby be led to please him, and to abound in

the good works [of the gospel] which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them—which are love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, gentleness, sobriety, and the other good works enforced in the Holy Scriptures.

11. On the other hand, we confess that we consider it to be our duty to beware of false teachers, whose object is to divert the minds of men from the true worship of God, and to lead them to place their confidence in the creatures, as well as to depart from the good works of the gospel, and to regard the inventions of men.

12. We take the Old and the New Testament for the rule of our life, and we agree with the general confession of faith contained in [what is usually termed] the apostles' creed.*

Amongst the writings of the ancient Waldenses that have reached our times, is "A Treatise concerning Antichrist, Purgatory, the Invocation of Saints, and the Sacraments."† Their historian, John Paul Perrin, to whom we are indebted for rescuing it from oblivion, informs us that the original manuscript, in which are also many sermons by their pastors, bears date A. D. 1120; which is nearly half a century before the time of Peter Waldo, and about the period when Peter de Bruys was executing his ministry in France. The Treatise has indeed been attributed, and not without probability, to the pen of Peter de Bruys. Perrin says, it was carefully preserved among the inhabitants of the Alps, from whence he procured it. If we could depend with certainty upon the correctness of the date of this manuscript, it would be a very important document in the history of the Waldensian churches, because it bears internal evidence of having been written for the express

* Perrin, *Hist. des Vaudois*, ch. xiii.

† This is the work to which the late Bishop Hurd refers us, in his "Introductory Sermons on the Study of the Prophecies," Vol. II. p. 30. Ser. 7. *note (t)*, where he says, "In this (*twelfth century*) was composed a very remarkable tract on the subject of Antichrist, which may be seen in Mede's Works, p. 721."

purpose of exhibiting a public declaration of their reasons for separating from the communion of the church of Rome, and consequently it would throw much light upon the question of their antiquity. But it is proper to apprise the reader of one circumstance attending it, which ought to excite a doubt upon the subject; and that is, that the scriptures are quoted in it as divided into chapters and verses, which we know was not done until *after* the middle of the thirteenth century. If, therefore, the original was written at the period fixed by Perrin, the chapters must have been added by a copyist.* The Treatise, nevertheless, whensoever written, is very interesting, and though the whole of it be too long for insertion, I shall submit to the reader a few extracts. Thus it describes Antichrist.

ANTICHRIST is a falsehood, or deceit varnished over with the semblance of truth, and of the righteousness of Christ and his spouse, yet in opposition to the way of truth, righteousness, faith, hope, charity, as well as to moral life. It is not any particular person ordained to any degree, or office, or ministry, but it is a system of falsehood, opposing itself to the truth, covering and adorning itself with a show of beauty and piety, yet very unsuitable to the church of Christ, as by the names, and offices, the scriptures, and the sacraments, and various other things, may appear. The system of iniquity thus completed with its ministers, great and small, supported by those who are induced to follow it with an evil heart and blindfold—this is the congregation which, taken together, comprises what is called Antichrist, or Babylon, the fourth beast, the whore, the man of sin, the son of perdition. His ministers are called false prophets, lying teachers, the ministers of darkness, the spirit of error, the apocalyptic whore, the mother of harlots, clouds with-

* Mr. Milner has overlooked this circumstance altogether, and reasons from this Treatise in behalf of the antiquity of those churches, as though the date it bears was unquestionable. See his *History*, Vol. III. p. 477.

out water, trees without leaves, twice dead, plucked up by the roots, wandering stars, Balaamites and Egyptians.

He is termed Antichrist, because being disguised under the names of Christ and of his church and faithful members, he oppugns the salvation which Christ wrought out, and which is truly administered in his church—and of which salvation believers participate by faith, hope, and charity. Thus he opposes the truth by the wisdom of this world, by false religion, by counterfeit holiness, by ecclesiastical power, by secular tyranny, and by the riches, honours, dignities, with the pleasures and delicacies of this world. It should, therefore, be carefully observed, that Antichrist could not come, without a concurrence of all these things, making up a system of hypocrisy and falsehood—these must be, the wise of this world, the religious orders, the pharisees, ministers, and doctors ; the secular power, with the people of the world, all mingled together. For although Antichrist was conceived in the times of the apostles, he was then in his infancy, imperfect and unformed, rude, unshapen, and wanting utterance. He then wanted those hypocritical ministers and human ordinances, and the outward show of religious orders which he afterwards obtained. As he was destitute of riches and other endowments necessary to allure to himself ministers for his service, and to enable him to multiply, defend, and protect his adherents, so he also wanted the secular power to force others to forsake the truth and embrace falsehood. But growing up in his members, that is, in his blind and dissembling ministers, and in worldly subjects, he at length arrived at full maturity, when men, whose hearts were set upon this world, blind in the faith, multiplied in the church, and by the union of church and state, got the power of both into their hands.

Christ never had any enemy like this ; so able to pervert the way of truth into falsehood, insomuch that the true church, with her children, is trodden under foot. The worship that belongs alone to God he transfers to Anti-

christ himself—to the creature, male and female, deceased—to images, carcasses, and relics. The sacrament of the eucharist is converted into an object of adoration, and the worshipping of God alone is prohibited. He robs the Saviour of his merits, and the sufficiency of his grace in justification, regeneration, remission of sins, sanctification, establishment in the faith, and spiritual nourishment; ascribing all these things to his own authority, to a form of words, to his own works, to the intercession of saints, and to the fire of purgatory. He seduces the people from Christ, drawing off their minds from seeking those blessings in him, by a lively faith in God, in Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Spirit, and teaching his followers to expect them by the will and pleasure and works of Antichrist.

He teaches to baptize children into the faith, and attributes to this the work of regeneration; thus confounding the work of the Holy Spirit in regeneration with the external rite of baptism, and on this foundation bestows orders, and indeed grounds all his Christianity. He places all religion and holiness on going to mass, and has mingled together all descriptions of ceremonies, Jewish, heathen and Christian—and by means thereof, the people are deprived of spiritual food, seduced from the true religion and the commandments of God, and established in vain and presumptuous hopes. All his works are done to be seen of men, that he may glut himself with insatiable avarice; and hence every thing is set to sale. He allows of open sins, without ecclesiastical censure, and even the impenitent are not excommunicated. He does not govern, nor does he maintain his unity, by the Holy Spirit, but by means of the secular power, making use of the same to effect spiritual matters. He hates, and persecutes, and searches after, and plunders, and destroys the members of Christ. These are some of the principal of the works of Antichrist against the truth, but the whole are past numbering or recording.

On the other hand, he makes use of an outward confession of faith; and therein is verified the saying of the apos-

tle—"They profess in words that they know God, but in works they deny him." He covers his iniquity by pleading the length of his duration, or succession of time, and the multitudes of his followers—concerning whom it is said in the Revelation, that "power is given him over every tribe, language, and nation, and all that dwell on the earth shall worship him." He covers his iniquity by pleading the spiritual authority of the apostles, though the apostle expressly says, "We can do nothing against the truth"—and "there is no power given us for destruction." He boasts of numerous miracles, even as the apostle foretold—"Whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all miracles and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness." He has an outward show of holiness, consisting in prayers, fastings, watchings, and alms-deeds, of which the apostle testified, when he said, "Having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof."

Thus it is that Antichrist covers his lying wickedness as with a cloak or garment, that he may not be rejected as a pagan or infidel, and under which disguise he can go on practising his villanies boldly, and like a harlot. But it is plain from both the Old and New Testaments, that a Christian stands bound by express command to separate himself from Antichrist. [Here the following scriptures are quoted at large from the Old Testament, Isa. lii. 11, 12. Jer. l. 8. Numb. xvi. 21. and ver. 6. Lev. xx. 24—27. Exod. xxxiv. 12, 15. Lev. xv. 31. Ezek. ii. Deut. xx.] Now it is manifest from the New Testament, John xii., that the Lord is come, and hath suffered death, that he might gather together in one the children of God; and it is on account of this unity in the truth, and their separation from others, that it is said in Matt. x. "I come to separate a man from his father, and to set the daughter against the mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law, and those of a man's own household shall be his enemies." Christ hath enjoined this separation upon his disciples, when he said, "Whosoever doth not forsake father and mother, &c.,

cannot be my disciple." And again, "Beware of false prophets, which come unto you in sheep's clothing." Again, "Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees—and take heed lest any man seduce you, for many shall come in my name and seduce many." And in the book of the Revelation he warns by his own voice, and charges his people to go out of Babylon, saying, "Come out of her, my people, and be not partakers of her sins, that ye receive not of her plagues; for her sins are come up unto heaven, and the Lord remembereth her iniquity." The apostle says the same, "Have no fellowship with unbelievers, for what communion hath righteousness with iniquity, or what agreement hath light with darkness, or what concord hath Christ with the devil, or what part hath a believer with an infidel, or the temple of God with idols? Wherefore, come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing, and I will receive you, and be a father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty."

From what has been said, we may learn wherein consist the perverseness and wickedness of Antichrist, and that God commands his people to separate from him, and to join themselves to the holy city, Jerusalem. And since it hath pleased God to make known these things to us by his servants, believing it to be his revealed will, according to the Holy Scriptures, and admonished thereto by the command of the Lord, we do, both inwardly and outwardly, depart from Antichrist. We hold communion, and maintain unity, one with another, freely and uprightly, having no other object or purpose herein, but purely and singly to please the Lord, and seek the salvation of our own souls. Thus, as the Lord is pleased to enable us, and so far as our understandings are instructed into the path of duty, we attach ourselves to the truth of Christ, and to his church, how mean soever she may appear, in the eyes of men. We, therefore, have thought it good to make this declaration of our reasons for departing from Antichrist, as well as to

make known what kind of fellowship we have, to the end that, if the Lord be pleased to impart the knowledge of the same truth to others, those that receive it may love it together with us. It is our desire also, that if peradventure, others are not sufficiently enlightened, they may receive assistance from this service, the Lord succeeding it by his blessing. On the other hand, if any have received more abundantly from him, and in a higher measure, we desire with all humility to be taught, and instructed better, that so we may rectify whatever is amiss.

The treatise then proceeds to sketch and succinctly to confute the numerous abominations of popery, and to show how they all tend to subvert the faith of Christ, and destroy the souls of men; but my limits will only allow of a very abridged view of this masterly statement. "Be it known," say they, "to all in general, and to every one in particular, that *these are the reasons of our separation*, viz. It is for the truth's sake which we believe—for the knowledge which we have of the only true God, and the unity of the divine essence in three persons, a knowledge which flesh and blood cannot communicate—it is for the worship due to that only true God—for the love we owe him above all things—for the sanctification and honour which are due to him supremely, and above every name—for the lively hopes which we have in God through Christ—for regeneration and the renewing of our minds by faith, hope, and charity—for the worthiness of Jesus Christ, with the all-sufficiency of his grace and righteousness—for the communion of saints—the remission of sins—a holy conversation—for the sake of a faithful adherence to all the commands in the faith of Christ—for true repentance—for final perseverance, and everlasting life."

"A various and endless idolatry, in opposition to the express command of God and Christ," say they, "marks the genius of Antichrist—divine worship offered, not to the Creator, but to the creatures, visible and invisible, corporal and spiritual, male and female—unto which crea-

tures they present the worship of faith and hope, works, prayers, pilgrimages, and alms, oblations and sacrifices of great price—honouring and adoring them in various ways, by hymns and songs, speeches and solemnities, and celebration of masses, vespers peculiarly appropriated to them, with vigils and feast-days, hoping thereby to obtain that grace which is essentially in God alone, which is meritoriously in Christ, and which is obtained only by faith through the Holy Spirit.

“Another feature which characterizes Antichrist is the excessive love of the world, whence springs an endless train of sin and mischief in the church, as well in those that govern as in them that officiate—both of whom sin without control. With this is connected the false hopes which Antichrist holds out of pardon, grace, justification, and everlasting life, as things not to be sought from and obtained in Christ, nor in God through Christ, but in men, living or dead—not by that true and living faith which worketh by love, producing repentance, and influencing the mind to depart from evil, and give itself up to God.”

These extracts will give the reader some notion of the manner in which the subject is handled in this Treatise; and it is unnecessary to indulge in more copious extracts. The articles entitled, “The Dream of Purgatory,” and “The Invocation of Saints,” are discussed with equal judgment; and in the latter, especially, the doctrine of the mediation of Jesus Christ—the perfection and all-sufficiency of his sacrifice for sin—his office as high priest, advocate, and intercessor of his church, are most clearly and nobly maintained, in opposition to the papal worship and invocation of saints. “Christ alone,” say they, “hath the prerogative of interceding for his guilty people, and he obtains whatsoever he requests in behalf of those whom he hath reconciled by his death. He is the only and sole mediator between God and man, the advocate and intercessor with the Father for sinners; and so sufficient is he, that God the Father denies nothing to any one which he asks in

his name. For, being near unto God, and living of himself, he prays to God continually for us; and “such a high priest became us, who was holy, harmless, separate from sinners, and exalted above the heavens.” Hence they argue, that as there is nothing attainable at the hand of God but through Jesus the Mediator, how great is the folly of seeking any other intercessor! He having made expiation for the sins of his people, and having approached unto God for them, where he ever lives to intercede. “No man cometh to the Father but by him.” Hence he himself says, “Whatsoever ye shall ask of the Father in my name, I will do it.”—“Thou, O Lord, art worthy to receive the book and to unloose the seals thereof, for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every tribe and tongue, and hast made us kings and priests unto our God.”*

In the year 1508, about ten years before Luther began the Reformation, and during the reign of Ladislaus, king of Hungary and Bohemia, a dreadful persecution broke out against that class of his subjects who held the principles of the Waldenses. The latter, to justify themselves from several charges erroneously imputed to them by their adversaries, drew up an apology addressed to the king, which was still extant in the time of Perrin, and as he has handed down to us the substance of it, I shall here extract a few of the more interesting particulars.

1. It was said of them, by their adversaries, that a man might leave his wife when he pleased. On which they reply, that “matrimony is a bond which nothing but death can dissolve, except the crime of fornication, as saith the Lord Jesus Christ;” and also the apostle Paul, 1 Cor. vii. saith, “Let not the wife depart from her husband, nor the husband put away his wife.”

2. A second calumny regards a community of goods and wives to which they reply, “that marriage was of old

* Perrin's *Histoire des Vaudois*, part ii. book v. ch. 8

ordained by God in paradise; that it was designed as an antidote against adultery; and that it is recorded by the apostle, when speaking of this subject, "Let every man have his own wife, and every woman her own husband." Also, that "the husband ought to love his wife, as Christ loveth the church," and that such as are married ought to live holily together with their children in the fear of God. That as for goods, every one hath possessed his own at all times and in all places—they never having had any such intercommunity among them, as tended in the smallest degree to derogate from that lawful propriety which every one has by right to his own estate."

3. Another scandalous charge was, that they worshipped their barbs or pastors. The grossness of this calumny, indeed, sufficiently refuted itself. At one time they are represented as setting aside the necessity of the pastoral office altogether, and making its peculiar duties common to every member—at others they are charged with holding their pastors in such estimation, that they paid them divine honours. The Waldenses refer, on this subject, to their own writings, in which they have shown that God alone is the object of worship, and that they never intended to give that to any creature. And that as to their pastors, regarding them as those by whom they have heard the word of reconciliation, they consider themselves as bound in conscience and duty to treat them with kindness, and to esteem them in love for their work's sake.

4. They have been accused of maintaining that it was in no instance lawful to swear. In reply to that, they say that "some oaths are certainly lawful, tending both to the honour of God and the edification of their neighbour," instancing Heb. vi. 16, that "men swear by a greater than themselves, and an oath made for confirmation is an end of all strife." They also allege that it was enjoined upon the people of Israel, Deut. vi. 13, to swear by the name of the Lord—and also the oath made betwixt Abimelech and Isaac, Gen. xxvi. and that of Jacob, Gen. xxxi.

5. Another calumny was, that they showed no reverence to sacred places, maintaining that it is not a more grievous sin to burn a church than to break open another house. To defend themselves against this charge they say, "That neither the place nor the pulpit makes a man holy—and that those are greatly deceived who think the better of themselves because of the dignity of the place. For what was greater than paradise, or what more pure than heaven? Notwithstanding which, man was driven out of paradise, because he sinned there; and the angels were expelled from heaven, that they might be an example to all succeeding ages, teaching us that it is neither the place, nor its grandeur and dignity, but innocence of life that makes a man holy."

6. Again, they were charged with holding, that the civil magistrate ought not to sentence any one to death. To which they answer, "that it is written, a malefactor shall not be suffered to live; and that without correction and discipline, doctrine serves to no purpose, neither would judgments be known or wickedness punished. That, therefore, just anger is the mother of discipline, and patience without reason, the seed of vices, encouraging the wicked to proceed in their excesses." True it is, that they complained of the conduct of the magistrates in delivering them up to death, without any other knowledge of them than they had obtained from the priests and monks who pretended to discover errors in them, and then exclaiming against them for abuses which they had introduced into the church, condemned them as heretics, and delivered them up to the secular power. Moreover, they regarded it as both unwise and cruel, on the part of the magistrates, to give credit to men so carried away with passion as were the priests, and that they should put to death so many poor innocent persons without having either heard or examined them.

7. Allied to the foregoing was another slander, tending to render them odious to kings and princes, namely, "that

a layman in a state of grace hath more authority than a prince living in mortal sin." In reply to that imputation, they said, that every one ought to be subject to those who are placed in authority—that it is their duty to obey them, to honour them with double honour, to be subject to them with allegiance, and promptly paying them tribute, &c.

8. The next charge was, that the Waldenses affirmed the Pope had no authority over the kings and princes of the earth, who derived their authority from God alone; and on which account they took occasion to call them Manichæans. They replied, "We believe that the holy Trinity created all things, both visible and invisible, and that [Jehovah] is Lord of all things in heaven, earth, and hell, as it is written, 'All things were created by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made.'"

9. It was further alleged against them, that they objected to the payment of tythes—that priests might lawfully be put to death, or dispossessed of their tythes, which any one might retain without scruple of conscience. And it is certain, says their historian, that could the Waldenses have appropriated their tythes to any other purpose than the maintenance of those whom they regarded as "dumb dogs," drowsy watchmen, slow bellies, deceivers, and deceived, they would have done it; but as they had not power to detain them, none of them made any disturbance about the matter. It indeed appears, that in what depended upon their own voluntary choice, they gave nothing to such persons, nor cared for any of their helps after death, of which the priests complained, and thence took occasion to accuse them as heretics. But let us hear them upon the subject of revenge. "The Lord knowing that we should be delivered up, said, 'Beware of men.' But he never teaches or counsels his elect to slay any one, but on the contrary, to 'love their enemies.' When the disciples said to him, 'shall we call for fire from heaven and consume them?' Christ answered, 'Ye know not what spirit ye are of.' Also the Lord said to Peter, 'Put up thy

sword into its place,' &c. Besides, temporal distresses ought to be despised and sustained with patience, for in them nothing happens that is new. Whilst we are here, we are the Lord's threshold, to be beaten like corn when it is separated from the chaff."

10. Claude de Rubis, a virulent catholic writer, who compiled the history of the city of Lyons, defames them by saying, that, having retired from the city of Lyons, and taken refuge among the Alps, the Waldenses, like the rest of the inhabitants of the valleys, had become sorcerers—and, indeed, says he, there are two things which commonly accompany each other, that is, heresy and sorcery, as hath been verified in the cities and provinces which have admitted heresy amongst them. To justify themselves against this foul aspersion, they say, "Those act against the first precept of the decalogue, who believe the planets can control the free-will of man." Such do, in effect, esteem the planets to be gods, for they attribute to the creature that which is the peculiar province of the Creator. Against such the prophet Jeremiah saith, "Learn not the way of the heathen, and be not afraid of those things at which the heathen are dismayed." Paul also says to the Galatians, "Ye observe days and months, and times, and years, I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed on you labour in vain." They also act against this commandment who believe in sorcerers and diviners, for such believe the demons to be Gods. The reason is, because they ask that of demons which God alone can grant, viz. to discover things that are secret, and to reveal the truth of things to come, which is forbidden by God. Lev. xix. "Thou shalt not regard them that have familiar spirits, neither seek after wizards. Moreover, thou shalt not divine nor give any heed to dreams. Thou shalt not be an inchanter, neither take council with familiar spirits, or wizards, nor inquire the truth among the dead, for all these things are an abomination to the Lord." And as to the punishment which God, in a way of vengeance, inflicts upon such, we read in the

Book of Kings, that "Elijah demanded of Ahaziah, saying, What! is there no God in Israel, that ye go to inquire of Baal-zebub, the god of Ekron? Now, therefore, thus saith the Lord, Thou shalt not come down from that bed on which thou art gone up, but shalt surely die." Saul died, because he had prevaricated with the commandment that God had given him: he kept it not, neither put his trust in the Lord, but asked counsel of a witch, wherefore the Lord slew him, and transferred his kingdom to David the son of Jesse. It is also said, in the book of Leviticus, that "who-soever shall turn aside to enchanters and wizards, I will lay my hand upon him, and cut him off from the midst of his people." Every one ought to know that all enchantment, or conjuration, or charms, or spells, carried for a remedy to men or beasts, are of no avail, but on the contrary a snare and ambush of the old adversary, the devil, through which he endeavours to deceive mankind.

11. One more charge against them is, that they compelled their pastors to follow some trade. Their answer to this is surely a very satisfactory one. "We do not think it necessary," say they, "that our pastors should work for bread. They might be better qualified to instruct us, if we could maintain them without their own labour; but *our poverty has no remedy.*"*

The Catholic writers frequently reproached them with making little or no account of the pastoral office—affirming that they made the duty of preaching the gospel common to every member of the church, both male and female; and that they allowed persons who had not the suffrages of the church, to administer the ordinances of gospel worship. That this was an unfounded accusation has been very satisfactorily shown by Dr. Allix, whose researches into the history of those churches entitle him to the grati-

* Perrin's Hist. des Vaudois, b. i. ch. iv. and Usher de Christ. Eccles. succ. et statu.

tude of posterity. I subjoin the substance of his defence of them against this charge.

1. Bernard, abbot of Fonçaud, in his Treatise against the sect of the Waldenses, ch. vi. accuses only *some of them* of having no pastors; which shows, as he very properly remarks, that the body of that church had a fixed ministry before the end of the twelfth century. There is, therefore, nothing in this to support the charge of their making light of the pastoral office; for it is only what has happened to societies of Christians in every age of the world, to be for a time without presbyters or pastors, until the great Head of the Church raises up among them persons properly qualified by age, experience, and gifts, to take the oversight of their brethren, to labour in the word and doctrine, and rule the church of God. It is plain that it was so with the first churches for a time. Acts, xiv. 23. Titus, i. 5.

2. Reinerius Saccho, who lived about the year 1250, acknowledges that in Lombardy, where he himself resided, they had their bishops, or pastors; "*Lombardiam intrantes, visitant episcopos suos,*" are his words, cap. v. that is, "when they come into Lombardy they visit their elders." Again, Matthew Parris, (under the year 1243) speaks of a bishop of the Paterines in Cremona, who was deposed by them for fornication. And, further, Pilickdorf, a writer quoted by Bossuet in his history of the Variations, p. 223, says, "*they do not approve of a layman's celebrating the Eucharist,*" ch. i. which sufficiently proves, says Dr. Allix, that they made a signal difference between the people and their pastors.*

3. Commenius, who published a Synopsis of the discipline of the churches of Bohemia, dwells particularly upon this article; and shows that "*a stated ministry was always considered as a matter of great importance among the Wal-*

* Dr. Allix's Remarks, p. 259.

densian churches." A dreadful persecution broke out against the Bohemian brethren, in the days of Comenius, which produced such havoc among them that he himself was "the only surviving bishop that escaped." The scattered brethren, in process of time, elected three persons as qualified for the pastoral office, but "found themselves greatly perplexed about their ordination." Having understood that there were some Waldensian churches on the confines of Moravia and Austria, to satisfy their own scruples, as well as those of others, they resolved to send Michael Zambergius, one of their pastors, with two other persons, to find out those Waldenses, and give them an account of what had passed among them, and especially to ask their advice upon the matter in hand. They met with one Stephen, a Waldensian bishop, who sent for others also residing in that quarter, with whom they had a conference upon the doctrines of the gospel and the state of their churches, and by them the said three pastors were ordained by the imposition of hands. "Hence," says Dr. Allix, "it is abundantly evident, that as the Waldenses have preserved the faith that was committed to them, so have they been as careful to preserve entire amongst them the ancient discipline of the church—and, hence it will follow, that nothing can be more false than what is pretended, viz. that they had no kind of lawful ministry among them, but that laymen took upon themselves the power of preaching, of ordaining ministers, and administering ordinances."*

* Allix's Remarks, p. 245.

SECTION IV.

Additional testimonies in favour of the Principles and Practices of the Waldenses, collected from the writings of both friends and foes ; with miscellaneous Remarks in illustration of their character and history.

HAVING, in the two preceding sections, endeavoured to lay before the reader a fair and impartial representation of the doctrinal sentiments, and social religious practices of the Waldenses, and especially as these stood in opposition to the whole prevailing system of popery, I shall, before proceeding to a detail of their general history, adduce a few additional particulars of a more miscellaneous nature than hath been hitherto submitted to his consideration.

The enemies of the Waldenses, while they stigmatize them as heretics, and think no cruelties too horrid to be inflicted upon them, on account of their opposition to the whole system of the papal hierarchy, are, nevertheless, constrained, by the force of truth, to bear the most honourable testimony to the integrity, uprightness, and exemplary deportment, which so conspicuously characterized this denomination of Christians. In proof of this, let us attend to the testimony of their adversaries.

An ancient inquisitor, to whose writings against the Waldenses, I had occasion to refer in a former section, thus describes them. "These heretics are known by their manners and conversation, for they are orderly and modest in their behaviour and deportment. They avoid all appearance of pride in their dress ; they neither indulge in finery of attire, nor are they remarkable for being mean or ragged. They avoid commerce, that they may be free from deceit and falsehood. They get their livelihood by manual industry, as day-labourers or mechanics, and their teachers are weavers or tailors. They are not anxious about amassing riches, but content themselves with the necessa-

ries of life. They are chaste, temperate and sober. They abstain from anger. Even when they work, they either learn or teach. In like manner also, their women are very modest, avoiding backbiting, foolish jesting, and levity of speech, especially abstaining from lies or swearing, not so much as making use of the common asseverations, ‘in truth,’ ‘for certain,’ or the like, because they regard these as oaths—contenting themselves with simply answering ‘yes’ or ‘no.’”*

Claudius Seisselius, archbishop of Turin, from whose Treatise against the Waldenses I have quoted largely in a former section, is pleased to say, that “their heresy excepted, they generally live a purer life than other Christians. They never swear but by compulsion, and rarely take the name of God in vain. They fulfil their promises with punctuality; and, living for the most part in poverty, they profess to preserve the apostolic life and doctrine. They also profess it to be their desire to overcome only by the simplicity of faith, by purity of conscience, and integrity of life; not by philosophical niceties and theological subtleties.” And he very candidly admits that—“In their lives and morals they are perfect, irreprehensible, and without reproach among men, addicting themselves with all their might to observe the commands of God.”†

Lielenstenius, a Dominican, speaking of the Waldenses of Bohemia, says, “I say that in morals and life they are good; true in words, unanimous in brotherly love; but their faith is incorrigible and vile, as I have shown in my Treatise.”‡

Samuel de Cassini, a Franciscan friar, speaking of them in his “*Victoria Trionfale*,” explicitly owns in what respect their faith was incorrigible and vile, when he says, “That all the errors of these Waldenses consisted in this, that they

* Allix’s Remarks, p. 235.

† Usher de Christ. Eccles. success. et statu.—Perrin, b. i. ch. v.

‡ Usher, *ubi supra*.

denied the church of Rome to be the holy mother church, and would not obey her traditions.”*

Jacobus de Riberia, who published a work entitled, “Collections of the city of Toulouse,” and who, in his time, assisted in persecuting the Waldenses, nevertheless acknowledges, that for a long time they had obtained the highest esteem in Narbonne,† as well as in the diocese of Alby, Rhodes, Cahors, and Agen; and that those who would be styled priests and bishops [in the Catholic church] were then but little accounted of, which he resolves into their ignorance and unworthy conduct, by reason of which, says he, it was an easy matter for the Waldenses to obtain the preference among the people for the excellency of their doctrine. He acknowledges that they were so well instructed in the Holy Scriptures, that he had seen peasants who could recite the book of Job *verbatim*, and several others who could perfectly repeat all the New Testament.

Cardinal Baronius, in his Ecclesiastical Annals, tom. xiii. styles the Waldenses of Toulouse “good men,” and acknowledges that they were “peaceable persons,” though he elsewhere falsely lays to their account many heinous accusations.‡

In the time of a great persecution of the Waldenses of Merindol and Provence, a certain monk was deputed by the bishop of Cavaillon, to hold a conference with them, that they might be convinced of their errors, and the effusion of blood prevented. But the monk returned in confusion, owning that in his whole life he had never known so much of the Scriptures, as he had learned during those few days that he had been conversing with the heretics. The bishop, however, sent among them a number of doctors, young men, who had lately come from the Sorbonne, which, at that time, was the very centre of Theological subtlety at Paris. One of these, publicly owned that he

* History of Popery, Vol. I. p. 421.

† A city and province in the south of France.

‡ Perrin's Hist. des Vaudois, ch. v.

had understood more of the doctrine of salvation from the answers of the little children in their catechisms, than by all the disputations which he had ever before heard.*

FRANCIS I., king of France, being informed that the parliament of Provence brought very heavy charges against the Waldenses, whom they were then severely persecuting, at Merindol, Cabriers, and other neighbouring places, was desirous of ascertaining the truth of those accusations. With a view to this, he commanded one of his nobles, the Lord of Langeai, who was at that time his lieutenant in Piedmont, to investigate this matter, and report to him the true state of things. His lordship consequently sent into Provence two clergymen, giving them a strict charge to inquire into the lives and religious principles of the Waldenses, and of the proceedings of the parliament against them. On their return, they reported that "they were a laborious race of people, who about two hundred years ago, had emigrated from Piedmont, to dwell in Provence,—that betaking themselves to husbandry and feeding of cattle, they had restored many villages destroyed by the wars, and rendered other desert and uncultivated places extremely fertile by their industry. That by the information given them in the said country of Provence, they found they were a very peaceable people, beloved by their neighbours—men of good behaviour, of godly conversation, faithful to their promises, and punctual in paying their debts. That they were a charitable people, not permitting any among them to fall into want. That they were, moreover, liberal to strangers and the travelling poor, as far as their ability extended. And that the inhabitants of Provence affirmed, they were a people who could not endure to blaspheme, or name the devil, or swear at all, unless in making some solemn contracts, or in judgment. Finally, that they were well known by this, that if they happened to

* Vesembecius's Oration on the Waldenses, quoted by Perrin, in his *Hist. des Vaudois*, ch. v.

be cast into any company, where the conversation was lascivious or blasphemous, to the dishonour of God, they instantly withdrew.*

LOUIS XII., king of France, being informed by the enemies of the Waldenses, inhabiting a part of the province of Provence, that several heinous crimes were laid to their account, sent the Master of Requests, and a certain doctor of the Sorbonne, who was confessor to his majesty, to make inquiry into this matter. On their return, they reported that they had visited all the parishes where they dwelt, had inspected their places of worship, but that they had found there no images, nor signs of the ornaments belonging to the mass, nor any of the ceremonies of the Romish church; much less could they discover any traces of those crimes with which they were charged. On the contrary, they kept the sabbath day, observed the ordinance of baptism, according to the primitive church, instructed their children in the articles of the Christian faith, and the commandments of God. The king having heard the report of his commissioners, said with an oath that they were better men than himself or his people.†

The same monarch having been told that in the valley of Fraissiniere, in the diocess of Ambrun and province of Dauphiny, there was a class of people who lived like beasts, without religion, and strongly opposed to the Romish worship, deputed one of his confessors and the official of Orleans to investigate the truth or falsehood of this report. The confessor, with his colleague, accordingly repaired to the place, where he examined the Waldenses who inhabited the valley, respecting their faith and conversation. The archbishop of Ambrun, well knowing that the goods of the Waldenses were liable to confiscation for the crime of heresy, and that they would be annexed to the domains of his archbishoprick, strongly pressed the commissioners to con-

* Joachim Camerarius, in his *History*, p. 352, quoted by Perrin, book i. chap. v.

† Vesembecius's *Oration on the Waldenses*, in Perrin, ch. v.

denn them as heretics. They, however, not only resisted his application, but even expressed their admiration of the Waldenses, insomuch that the king's confessor publicly declared, in the presence of a number of his friends who were with him at his lodgings, at the angel in Ambrun, that he wished he was as good a Christian as the worst of the valley of Fraissiniere.*

These are, unquestionably, very important testimonies to the Waldenses who resided in France ; but I shall now lay before the reader a still more interesting document ; it is the testimony which is borne to these people, by that eminent historian Thuanus—an enemy indeed to the Waldenses, himself being a Catholic, but he was, nevertheless, a fair and candid one. Quoting the words of Guy de Perpignan, bishop of Elua, in Roussillon, who exercised the office of inquisitor, against the Waldenses, he informs us that “ Their fixed opinions are said to be these—That the church of Rome, because she hath renounced the true faith of Christ, is the whore of Babylon, and that barren tree which Christ himself hath cursed and commanded to be rooted up ; therefore we must by no means obey the Pope and the bishops who cherish his errors—that the monastic life is the sink of the church, and a hellish institution ; its vows are vain, and subservient only to the filthy love of boys—the orders of the presbytery are the marks of the great beast mentioned in the Apocalypse—the fire of purgatory, the sacrifice of the mass, the feast of the dedications of churches, the worship of saints, and propitiations for the dead, are the inventions of Satan. To these the principal and certain heads of their doctrine, others were fictitiously added concerning marriage, the resurrection, the state of the soul after death, and concerning meats.” Again, describing the inhabitants of the valley of Fraissiniere, he thus proceeds—“ Their clothing is of the skins of sheep—

* Memorials of Rostain, Archbishop of Ambrun, quoted in Perrin, ch. v.

they have no linen. They inhabit seven villages; their houses are constructed of flint stone, having a flat roof covered with mud, which when spoiled or loosened by the rain, they again smooth with a roller. In these they live with their cattle, separated from them, however, by a fence. They have also two caves set apart for particular purposes, in one of which they conceal their cattle, in the other themselves, when hunted by their enemies. They live on milk and venison, being, through constant practice, excellent marksmen. Poor as they are, they are content, and live in a state of seclusion from the rest of mankind. One thing is very remarkable, that persons externally so savage and rude, should have so much moral cultivation. They can all read and write. They know French sufficiently for the understanding of the Bible and the singing of Psalms. You can scarcely find a boy among them, who cannot give you an intelligible account of the faith which they profess. In this, indeed, they resemble their brethren of the other valleys. They pay tribute with a good conscience, and the obligation of this duty is peculiarly noted in their confession of faith. If, by reason of the civil wars, they are prevented from doing this, they carefully set apart the sum, and at the first opportunity pay it to the king's tax gatherers."*

But of all the Catholic writers, who have treated of the Waldenses, there is none whose testimony is more important than that of Reinerius Saccho. He had himself been one of their number, and consequently could speak of them from his personal knowledge. He had apostatized from their profession; was "by merit raised to the bad eminence" of an inquisitor in the Catholic church, and of course was become one of their bitterest persecutors. He wrote a book against them, (A. D. 1258,) from which I have already quoted largely in a former section. But that extract is almost wholly confined to an enumeration of the articles

* Thuani Hist. sui temporis, lib. vi. sect. 16. and lib. xxvii.

on which they did not agree with the Catholic church. Let the reader now remark his unbought testimony in their favour. "Of all the sects that have risen up against the church of Rome," says he, "the Waldenses have been the most prejudicial and pernicious, inasmuch as their opposition has been of very long continuance. Add to which, that this sect is become very general, for there is scarcely a country to be found in which this heresy is not planted. And, in the third place, because while all other sects beget in people a dread and horror of them on account of their blasphemies against God, this, on the contrary, hath a great appearance of godliness; for, they live righteously before men, believe rightly concerning God in every particular, holding all the articles contained in the [apostles'] creed—but hating and reviling the church of Rome, and on this subject they are readily believed by the people."*

"The first lesson," says he, in another place, "that the Waldenses teach those whom they bring over to their party, is to instruct them what kind of persons the disciples of Christ ought to be, and this they do by the doctrine of the evangelists and apostles, saying that those only are the followers of the apostles who imitate their manner of life. Inferring from thence," says he, "that the Pope, the bishops, and the clergy, who possess the riches of this world, and make them the object of their pursuit, do not tread in the footsteps of the apostles, and therefore are not the true guides of the church; it never having been the design of the Lord Jesus Christ to commit his chaste and well-beloved spouse to those who would rather prostitute her by their bad example and abominable works, than preserve her in the same state of purity in which they at first received her, a virgin chaste and without spot."†

The same author has furnished us with an interesting account of the manner in which the Waldenses privately

* Reinerius contra Waldenses, in Perrin, b. ii. ch. i.

† Idem, cap. de studio pervertendi alios et modo docendi, fol. 98.

disseminated their principles among the gentry; and a proper attention to it will sufficiently explain to the reader the amount of various charges brought against them, from time to time, by the Catholic writers, viz. that they allowed their women to teach. It seems to have been a common practice with their teachers, the more readily to gain access for their doctrine among persons in the higher ranks of life, to carry with them a small box of trinkets, or articles of dress, something like the hawkers or pedlars of our day, and Reinerius thus describes the manner in which they were wont to introduce themselves.

“SIR, will you please to buy any rings, or seals, or trinkets? MADAM, will you look at any handkerchiefs, or pieces of needlework for veils; I can afford them cheap.” If after a purchase the company ask, “Have you any thing more?” the salesman would reply, “O yes, I have commodities far more valuable than these, and I will make you a present of them, if you will protect me from the clergy.” Security being promised, on he would go. “The inestimable jewel I spoke of, is the word of God, by which he communicates his mind to men, and which inflames their hearts with love to him.” “In the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God unto a city of Galilee named Nazareth”—and so he would proceed to repeat the remaining part of the first chapter of Luke.* Or, he would begin with the thirteenth of John, and repeat the last discourse of Jesus to his disciples. If the company should seem pleased, he would proceed to repeat the twenty-third of Matthew. “The scribes and pharisees sit in Moses’ seat—Wo unto you; ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men; for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in. Wo unto you, ye devour widows’ houses.”—“And pray,”

* The reader should keep in mind, that at this time the use of the Bible was not allowed by the Pope to the laity, and indeed very few of the clergy knew any thing about its contents.

should one of the company say, "Against whom are these woes denounced, think you?" he would reply, "Against the clergy and the monks. The doctors of the Roman church are pompous, both in their habits and their manners—they love the uppermost rooms, and the chief seats in the synagogues, and to be called Rabbi, Rabbi. For our parts, we desire no such Rabbies. They are incontinent; we live each in chastity with his own wife. They are the rich and avaricious, of whom the Lord says, 'Wo unto you, ye rich, for ye have received your consolation;' but we, 'having food and raiment are therewith content.' They are voluptuous, and devour widows' houses—we only eat to be refreshed and supported. They fight and encourage wars, and command the poor to be killed and burnt, in defiance of the saying, 'he that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword.' For our parts, they persecute us for righteousness' sake. *They* do nothing, but eat the bread of idleness. We work with our hands. They monopolize the giving of instruction, and 'wo be to them that take away the key of knowledge.' But among us, women teach, as well as men, and one disciple as soon as he is informed himself, teaches another. Among them, you can hardly find a doctor who can repeat three chapters of the New Testament by heart—but of us there is scarcely man or woman who doth not retain the whole. And because we are sincere believers in Christ, and all teach and enforce a holy life and conversation, these Scribes and Pharisees persecute us to death, as their predecessors did Jesus Christ."*

The plan adopted by the Waldenses, for engaging the attention of others to the word of God, as described by Reinerius in the foregoing extract, is both simple and striking, and deserves the attention of missionaries in the present day. It seems to have been prosecuted for several centuries, even beyond the times of the Reformation, as

* REINERI, cap. viii. *Quomodo se ingerant familiaritati magnorum.*

appears from the following circumstance. The first editor of the complete book of Reinerius was Father Gretzer, who published it in the year 1613. In the margin of that work, opposite to the passage above quoted, he has placed these words. "This is a true picture of the heretics of our age, particularly of the Anabaptists."* There are few of the Baptists of the present day, it is to be hoped, who would blush to own an alliance with either the old Waldensian preachers, or the heretical Baptists referred to by this father of the Catholic church, at least in this part of their conduct; and indeed it would be well if all our Missionaries and private Christians of the present day, were as conversant with the word of God as the Waldenses, even in that dark age, appear, from the testimony of their very enemies, to have been. But not to enlarge, I close this section by laying before the reader a few of the testimonies that were borne to the Waldenses, by our first protestant reformers, and earlier historians, who, as most of them lived about three hundred years nearer to their times than we do, may reasonably be supposed much better qualified than ourselves for appreciating their true character.

In the year 1530, ECOLAMPADIUS, one of the Reformers, then resident at Basle, in Switzerland, was visited by George Morell, one of the pastors among the Waldenses, by whom, on his return to Provence, he addressed a letter "to his well beloved brethren in Christ, called Waldenses," and it is as follows.

"We have learned with great satisfaction, by your faithful pastor, George Morell, the nature of your faith and religious profession, and in what terms you declare it. Therefore, we thank our most merciful Father, who hath called you to so great light in this age, amidst the dark clouds of ignorance which have spread themselves over the world, and notwithstanding the extravagant power of Anti-

* *Vera effigies hereticorum nostræ ætatis* [1613,] præsertim Anabaptistarum.

christ. Wherefore we acknowledge that Christ is in you: for which cause we love you as brethren; and would to God we were able to make you sensible in effect of that which we shall be ready to do for you, although it were to be done with the utmost difficulty. Finally, we desire that what we write may not be looked upon as though through pride we arrogated to ourselves any superiority over you, but consider it as proceeding from that brotherly love and charity which we bear towards you. The Father of our Lord Jesus Christ hath imparted to you an excellent knowledge of his truth, beyond that of many other people, and hath blessed you with spiritual blessings. So that if you persevere in his grace, he hath much greater treasures wherewith to enrich you, and make you perfect, according to your advancement in the measure of the inheritance of Christ."

LUTHER, in the year 1533, published the Confessions of the Waldenses, to which he wrote a preface. In this preface he candidly acknowledges that, in the days of his popery, he had hated the Waldenses, as persons who were consigned over to perdition. But having understood from their confessions and writings the piety of their faith, he perceived that those good men had been greatly wronged whom the Pope had condemned as heretics; for that, on the contrary, they were rather entitled to the praise due to holy martyrs. He adds, that among them he had found one thing worthy of admiration, a thing unheard of in the popish church, that, laying aside the doctrines of men, they meditated in the law of God, day and night; and that they were expert, and even well versed in the knowledge of the Scriptures; whereas, in the papacy, those who are called masters wholly neglected the Scriptures, and some of them had not so much as seen the Bible at any time. Moreover, having read the Waldensian confessions, he said he returned thanks to God for the great light which it had pleased him to bestow upon that people; rejoicing that all cause of suspicion being removed which

had existed between them and the reformed, they were now brought together into one sheepfold, under the Chief Shepherd and Bishop of souls.*

THEODORE BEZA, the cotemporary and colleague of Calvin, in his "Treatise of the famous pillars of learning and religion," says, "As for the Waldenses, I may be permitted to call them the very seed of the primitive and purer Christian church, since they are those that have been upheld, as is abundantly manifest, by the wonderful providence of God, so that neither those endless storms and tempests by which the whole Christian world has been shaken for so many succeeding ages, and the western parts at length so miserably oppressed by the bishop of Rome, falsely so called; nor those horrible persecutions which have been expressly raised against them, were ever able so far to prevail as to make them bend, or yield a voluntary subjection to the Roman tyranny and idolatry.†

On another occasion the same writer remarks that, "The Waldenses, time out of mind, have opposed the abuses of the Church of Rome, and have been persecuted after such a manner, not by the sword of the word of God, but by every species of cruelty, added to a million of calumnies and false accusations, that they have been compelled to disperse themselves wherever they could, wandering through the deserts like wild beasts. The Lord, nevertheless, has so preserved the residue of them, that notwithstanding the rage of the whole world, they still inhabit three countries, at a great distance from each other, viz. Calabria, Bohemia, and Piedmont, and the countries adjoining, where they dispersed themselves from the quarters of Provence about two hundred and seventy years ago. And as to their religion, they never adhered to papal superstitions; for which reason they have been continually

* Morland's *History of the Churches of Piedmont*, p. 58. Perrin's *Vaudois*, ch. vi.

† Preface to Morland's *History*, p. 7.

harassed by the bishops and inquisitors abusing the arm of secular justice, so that their continuance to the present time is evidently miraculous.”*

BULLINGER, in the preface to his Sermons on the book of the Revelation, (1530,) writes thus concerning the Waldenses. “What shall we say, that for four hundred years and more, in France, Italy, Germany, Poland, Bohemia, and other countries throughout the world, the Waldenses have sustained their profession of the gospel of Christ, and in several of their writings, as well as by continual preaching, they have accused the Pope as the real Antichrist foretold by the apostle John, and whom, therefore, we ought to avoid. These people have undergone divers and cruel torments, yet have they constantly and openly given testimony to their faith by glorious martyrdoms, and still do so even to this day. Although it has often been attempted by the most powerful kings and princes, instigated by the Pope, and it hath been found impossible to extirpate them, for God hath frustrated their efforts.”†

MONSIEUR DE VIGNAUX, who was forty years pastor of one of the churches of the Waldenses, in the valleys of Piedmont, and died at the age of eighty, wrote a Treatise concerning their life, manners, and religion, in which he says, “We live in peace and harmony one with another, have intercourse and dealings chiefly among ourselves, having never mingled ourselves with the members of the church of Rome by marrying our sons to their daughters, nor our daughters to their sons. Yet they are so pleased with our manners and customs, that Catholics, both lords and others, would rather have men and maid servants from among us, than from those of their own religion, and they actually come from distant parts to seek nurses among us for their

* History of the Reformed Churches in France, tom. i. b. i. p. 35. in Perrin, b. i. ch. vi

† Preface to his Sermons, quoted by Perrin, ch. vi.

little children, finding, as they say, more fidelity among our people than their own." He then gives a summary of their doctrinal principles, for the sake of which they have been persecuted, such as "that the Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary to our salvation, and that we are called to believe only what they teach, without any regard to the authority of man—that nothing else ought to be received by us, except what God has commanded—that there is only one mediator between God and man, and consequently that it is wrong to invoke the saints. That baptism and the Lord's supper are the only standing ordinances in the church of Christ—that all masses are damnable, and ought to be abolished—that all human traditions are to be rejected. That the saying and recital of the office, fasts confined to particular days, superfluous holy-days, differences of meats, so many degrees and orders of priests, monks and nuns, so many benedictions and consecrations of creatures, vows, pilgrimages, and the whole vast and confused mass of ceremonies, formerly invented, ought to be abolished. They deny the supremacy of the Pope, and more especially the power that he has usurped over the civil government, and admit of no other degrees than bishops and deacons. They contend that the See of Rome is the true Babylon—the marriage of the clergy lawful, and that the true church of Christ consists of those who hear the word of God and believe it."*

JOHN CHASSAGNON, who wrote a *History of the Albigenses*, says, "It is recorded of the Waldenses, that they rejected all the traditions and ordinances of the Church of Rome as being superstitious and unprofitable, and that they made light of the whole body of the clergy and prelates. On which account, having been excommunicated and expelled their country, they dispersed themselves in different places, viz. into Dauphiny, Provence, Languedoc, Piedmont, Calabria, Bohemia, England, and elsewhere.

* Perrin's *History*, b. i. ch. vi.

Some say, that a part of the Waldenses retired into Lombardy, (in Italy,) where they multiplied to such an extent that their doctrine spread itself throughout Italy, and reached even into Sicily. Nevertheless, in all their dispersions they maintained among themselves some union and fraternity, during the space of four hundred years, living in great simplicity and the fear of God.”*

To these numerous testimonies, I shall now add that of our great poet MILTON, who seems to have diligently studied the character of the Waldenses, and to have well understood their principles and the constitution of their churches. Of this the reader will find abundant evidence hereafter in the numerous letters which he wrote in their behalf to the Protestant princes of Europe, pleading their cause against their popish persecutors. What I have at present in view is, the account given by him of the constitution of their churches, and the simplicity of their worship. He wrote a Tract, entitled “Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove hirelings out of the church,” addressed to the Parliament of England; in which he shows the pernicious effects arising from the endowing of churches with tythes; refutes, in the most convincing manner, the various pleas which were urged by episcopalians in favour of that practice, as founded on the Jewish law; and frequently adduces the happy poverty and purity of the Waldenses, as forming a striking contrast to the corruptions that abounds in national churches. “For the first three hundred years and upwards,” says he, “in all the ecclesiastical story, I find no such doctrine or example, [as that of supporting the pastors of Christian churches by the imposition of tythes] though error by that time had brought back again priests, altars, and oblations; and in many other points of religion had miserably judaised the church.” —“The first Christian emperors, who did all things as bishops advised them, supplied what was wanting to the

* Perrin's History, b. i ch. vi.

clergy, not out of tythes, which never was mentioned, but out of their own imperial revenues ; as is manifest in Eusebius, Theodoret, and Sozomen, from [the times of] Constantine to Arcadius. Hence those most ancient reformed churches of the Waldenses, if they rather continued not pure since the apostles' days, denied that tythes were to be given, or that they were ever given in the primitive church, as appears by an ancient tractate inserted in the Bohemian history. The [pastors of the] poor Waldenses, the ancient stock of our reformation, without the help (of tythes) bred up themselves in trades, and especially in physic and surgery, as well as in the study of Scripture, which is the only true theology, that they might be no burden to the church ; and after the example of Christ might cure both soul and body, through industry adding that to their ministry which he joined to his by the gift of the Spirit. So Peter Gilles relates, in his history of the Waldenses of Piedmont. But our ministers scorn to use a trade, and count it a reproach of this age that tradesmen preach the gospel. It were to be wished they were all tradesmen ; they would not then for want of another trade make a trade of their preaching : and yet they clamour that tradesmen preach, though they preach while themselves are the worst tradesmen of all.”—“Seeing the Christian church is not national, but consists of many particular congregations, not determined by any outward judge in matters of conscience, those pretended church revenues, as they have ever been, so they are likely to continue, matters of endless dissention between the church and the magistrate, and the churches among themselves ; there will, therefore, be found no better remedy for these evils, otherwise incurable, than (after the example of) the most incorrupt council of those Waldenses, our first reformers, to remove them as a pest—an apple of discord in the church ; for what else can the effect of riches be, and the snare of money in religion ? and to convert them to more profitable uses ; considering that the church of Christ was founded in poverty rather than in revenues,

stood purest and prospered best without them, received them unlawfully from those who both erroneously and unjustly, sometimes impiously, gave them, and so were justly ensnared and corrupted by them.”—“The Waldenses, our first reformers, both from the Scriptures and primitive example, maintained those among them who bore the office of ministers by alms alone. Take their very words, ‘Our food and clothing is sufficiently administered and given to us by way of gratuity and alms, by the good people whom we teach.’ As for church endowments and possessions, I meet with none considerable before Constantine, but the houses and gardens where they met, and their places of burial : and I persuade myself, that from thence the ancient Waldenses, whom I deservedly cite so often, held that ‘to endow churches is an evil thing,’ and that the church then fell off and became the whore sitting on that beast mentioned in the book of the Revelation, when, under Pope Sylvester, she received those temporal donations. So the forecited tractate of their doctrine testifies.”

Thus far Milton ; on which it may be observed, that to such as have studied the annals of the Christian church, and are in any tolerable degree aware how much the avarice, pride, and ambition of the clergy, have in all ages contributed to promote the corruptions that have prevailed in it, both in doctrine, discipline, and worship, the view that he gives us of the humble and self-denied deportment of the Waldensian pastors, must be considered as one of the strongest evidences that can be afforded of the purity of the communion of their churches, and of their close adherence to the pattern left them for imitation in the approved examples of the New Testament. But Milton was not singular in the commendation that he has given to the confessors of Piedmont ; for thus writes the candid JORTIN, in perfect consistency with our great poet. “The Waldenses taught that the Roman church departed from its former sanctity and purity in the time of Constantine the great ;

they therefore refused to submit to the usurped powers of its Pontiff. They said that the prelates and doctors ought to imitate the poverty of the Apostles, and earn their bread by the labour of their hands. *They contended that the office of teaching, confirming, and admonishing the brethren, belonged in some measure to all Christians, &c.* Their discipline was extremely strict and austere; for they interpreted Christ's discourse on the mount according to the literal sense of the words, and they condemned war, law-suits, the acquisition of riches, capital punishments, oaths, and [even] self-defence." Again, the same writer remarks, that "THE HONEST WALDENSES very plainly discerned that the powers usurped by the Popes and ecclesiastics were tyrannical and antichristian, and consequently that the decretals which established some of those notions must have been impudent forgeries. Why could not the Popes discern the same? Because profaneness, pride, ambition, and avarice, hardened their hearts and blinded their eyes; because they would neither examine, nor let other people examine."* But not to enlarge further on this particular, I shall close this section with a few general remarks.

An impartial review of the doctrinal sentiments maintained by the Waldenses; the discipline, order, and worship of their churches, as well as their general deportment and manner of life, not to mention their determined and uniform opposition to the church of Rome, affords abundant evidence of the similarity of their views and practices to those held by Luther, Calvin, and the other illustrious characters, whose labours, in the sixteenth century, contributed so eminently to effect the glorious Reformation. Most of the catholic writers, who lived about the time of the Reformation, and the age which succeeded it, clearly saw this coincidence between the principles of the Waldenses and those of the reformers, and remarked it in their works. The following are instances of this.

* Remarks on Eccles Hist. Vol. III. p. 303.

Cardinal Hosius, a learned and zealous champion for the papacy, who presided at the council of Trent, lived during the Lutheran reformation, and wrote a history of the heresies of his own times, in which he says, “the leprosy of the Waldenses spread its infection throughout all Bohemia—and following the doctrine of Waldo, the greatest part of that kingdom separated itself from the church of Rome.”

Lindanus, a catholic bishop of the see of Ghent, who wrote in defence of the tenets of the church of Rome, about 1560, terms Calvin “the inheritor of the doctrine of the Waldenses.”

Mezeray, the celebrated historiographer of France, in his *Abridgement of Chronology*, speaking of the Waldenses, says, “They held nearly the same opinions as those who are now called Calvinists.”

Gualtier, a Jesuitical monk, in his *chronographical tables*, drew up a catalogue consisting of seven and twenty particulars, in which he shows that the principles of the Waldenses, and those of the Calvinists coincided with each other.

Thomas Walden, who wrote against Wickliff, says that the doctrine of Peter Waldo was conveyed from France into England—and that among others Wickliff received it. In this opinion he is joined by Alphonsus de Castro, who says that Wickliff only brought to light again the errors of the Waldenses. Cardinal Bellarmine, also, is pleased to say that “Wickliff could add nothing to the heresy of the Waldenses.”

Ecchius reproached Luther, that he only renewed the heresies of the Waldenses and Albigenses, of Wickliff, and of Huss, which had long ago been condemned. With him may also be classed Claude Rubis, who wrote the *History of the city of Lyons*, in which, adverting to the principles of Luther, he says, “the heresies that have been current in our time are founded upon those of the Waldenses,” and he calls them “the relics of Waldo.”

Æneas Sylvius (afterwards Pope Pius II.) declares the doctrine taught by Calvin to be the same as that of the Waldenses. In this opinion he was followed by John de Cardonne, who, in his *Life of the Monk of the Valleys of Sernay*, thus quaintly expresses himself,

“What the sect of Geneva doth admit,
The Albigenses did commit.”*

To these impartial testimonies, which are more than sufficient to settle the question of family likeness, I shall only add that of the learned Limborch, professor of divinity in the university of Amsterdam, and that of Dr. Mosheim, the ecclesiastical historian. The former, comparing them with the Christians of his own time, says, “To speak candidly what I think, of all the *modern* sects of Christians, the Dutch Baptists most resemble both the Albigenses and Waldenses.”† The latter, notwithstanding the flimsy, confused, and, in many instances, the erroneous account which he has given of the Waldenses, yet has expressly owned, that “before the rise of Luther and Calvin, there lay concealed, in almost all the countries of Europe, persons who had adhered tenaciously to the principles of the modern Dutch Baptists.”‡

SECTION V.

*Some account of the rise and establishment of the Inquisition,
with reflections on its general spirit and operation.*

THE preceding sections will have enabled the reader to form a tolerably correct judgment concerning the religious

* Perrin's *Hist. des Vaudois*, b. i. ch. viii. where the references to these authors are given.

† Limborch's *History of the Inquisition*, Vol. I. ch. viii.

‡ Mosheim's *Eccles. History*, cent. xvi. sect. iii. part ii. ch. iii.

principles and general character of that denomination of Christians called Catharists, Paterines, Albigenses, or Waldenses; and I should now proceed to a more detailed account of their history, subsequent to the times of Peter Waldo, and especially of the dreadful persecutions and complicated sufferings which came upon them in consequence of their adherence “to the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus;” but it will be proper, in this place, to take a glance at the origin, the establishment, and the operation of that monstrous system of cruelty and oppression, gently called by the Catholics “the holy office,” though better known among Protestants by the name of the Inquisition.*

It was not until about the year 1200, the papal chair being then filled by Innocent III., that the terms “Inquisition into heresy,” and “Inquisitor,” were much, if at all, heard of. The bishops, and their vicars, being, in the Pope’s apprehension, neither so fit nor so diligent in the discharge of their duty respecting the extirpation of heresy

* As I shall have occasion, in the subsequent pages of this work, to make frequent references to “Limborch’s History of the Inquisition,” it is proper the reader should be apprised of the degree of credit which is due to that author’s statements. He was a native of Amsterdam, born 1633, a person of great learning and talents, which raised him to the rank of professor of divinity in that city. When his History of the Inquisition first came over to England, it was received with the highest approbation by many of the principal nobility and clergy. In particular Mr. Locke, that incomparable judge of men and books, bestowed the highest eulogiums upon it,—commended it for its method and perspicuity, and the authorities by which it is so abundantly confirmed,—and pronounced it to be a work of its kind absolutely perfect. In a letter to Limborch himself, he tells him, that he had so fully exposed their secret acts of wickedness and cruelty, that if the Papists had any remains of humanity in them, they must be ashamed of their horrid tribunals, in which every thing that was just and righteous was so monstrously perverted; and that it was proper it should be translated into the vulgar language of every nation, that the meanest people might understand the antichristian practices of that execrable court. The papists became so alarmed at its publication, that the cardinals, inquisitors general at Rome, condemned it by an edict, and forbade the reading of it, under the severest penalties.

as he thought necessary, two new orders of regulars were at this time instituted, viz. those of St. Dominic and St. Francis, both zealously devoted to the church, and consisting of persons with whom the advancement of Christianity, and the exaltation of the pontifical power, were always synonymous terms. To St. Dominic, indeed, the honour of first suggesting the erection of this extraordinary court is commonly ascribed. It was not, however, at first, on the same footing on which it afterwards settled, and on which it has since continued. The first inquisitors were vested with a double capacity, not very happily conjoined in the same persons; one was that of preachers, to convince the heretics by argument; the other that of persecutors, to instigate magistrates to employ every possible method of extirpating the refractory—that is, all who were so unreasonable as not to be convinced by the profound reasoning of those merciless fanatics and wretched sophisters.

DOMINIC descended from an illustrious Spanish family of the name of Guzman, was the son of Felix and Joanna, and born at the village of Cabaroga, in the year 1170, in the diocese of Osma. His mother, during her pregnancy, is said to have dreamed that she was with child of a pup, carrying in its mouth a lighted torch; that after its birth, it put the world in an uproar by its fierce barkings, and at length set it on fire by the torch which it carried in its mouth. His followers have interpreted this dream, of his doctrine, by which he enlightened the world; while others, if dreams presage any thing, think that the torch was an emblem of that fire and faggot by which an infinite multitude of persons were burnt to ashes.* He was educated for the priesthood, and grew up the most fiery and the most bloody of mortals. Before his time every bishop was a sort of inquisitor in his own diocese; but Dominic contrived to incorporate a body of men independent of every

* Limborch's History of the Inquisition, Vol. I. ch. x.

human being except the Pope, for the express purpose of ensnaring and destroying Christians. He was well aware that however loudly the priests declaimed against heresy, the lords of the soil would not suffer them to butcher their tenants under any such vain pretences. In Biscay, the priesthood was at a very low ebb, in the eleventh century, and the clergy complained to the King of Navarre that the nobility and gentry treated them very little better than their slaves, employing them chiefly only to breed up and feed their dogs. Nearly a century after that time, in a neighbouring state, when the renowned St. Bernard began, in a sermon to a crowded auditory, to inveigh against heresy, the nobility and gentry all rose up and left the church, and the people followed them. The preacher came down and proceeded to the market-place, where he attempted to harangue on the same subject; but the populace, wiser than the preacher, refused to hear him, and raised such a clamour as drowned his voice, and compelled him to desist. Only one expedient remained,—Bernard recollected that Jesus had ordered his apostles, in certain cases, to shake off the dust of their feet, and as though he were an apostle, and had received the same command, he affected to imitate the example. He left the city, shook his feet, and cursed the inhabitants by exclaiming, “May the Almighty punish this city with a drought.” Thus far went the rage of Catholicism at the beginning of the twelfth century, and here its proud waves were stayed; but at the commencement of the thirteenth, about the year 1215, Dominic broke down the dam, and covered Toulouse with a tide of despotism stained with human blood. Posterity will scarcely believe that this enemy of mankind, after forming a race like himself, first called preaching, and then Dominican, friars, died in his bed, was canonized for a saint, worshipped as a divinity, and proposed as a model of piety and virtue to succeeding generations.*

* Robinson's Ecclesiastical Researches, p. 321.

Never said Dr. Geddes, was there such a rabble in the world as a Spanish saint-roll. The first class of them are ideal beings, or pagans, or enthusiasts; but the last are saints *with a vengeance*, for all their steps to paradise are marked with human blood.*

The inquisitors, at first, had no tribunals; they merely inquired after heretics, their number, strength, and riches. When they had detected them, they informed the bishops, who, at that time, had the sole power of judging in ecclesiastical affairs, urging them to anathematize, banish, or otherwise chastise such heretical persons as they brought before them. It is true, says bishop Burnet, adverting to these times, the church pretended that she would shed no blood; but all this was insufferable juggling. For the churchmen declared who were heretics, and the secular arm was required to be always in readiness to execute their sentence. This was not only claimed by the bishops, but it was made a part of their oath at their consecration, "that they should oppose and persecute heretics to the utmost of their power." Nor were they contented to proceed by the common rules of justice, upon accusations and witnesses; but all forms were superseded, and by virtue of their pastoral authority, as if that had been given them to worry their sheep and not to feed them, they objected articles to their prisoners upon suspicion, requiring them to purge themselves of them by oath. And because bishops were not perhaps all so equally zealous and cruel, that bloody man, Dominic, took this work to task, and his order has ever since furnished the world with a set of inquisitors, compared to whom all that had ever dealt in tortures, in any former times, were mere bunglers.†

Sometimes they excited princes to arm their subjects against them, and at other times they inflamed the rabble,

* Miscellaneous Tracts, Vol. I.

† Bishop Burnet's Remarks concerning Persecution, prefixed to his Translation of Lactantius's Relation of the Deaths of the Primitive Persecutors. *Amst.* 1687. p. 34, &c.

whom they themselves headed, to take up arms, and unite in extirpating them. Such as they could prevail upon to devote themselves to this service, obtained the title of crusaders, and were distinguished by a cross of cloth affixed to their garments. This badge operated like a charm upon the deluded populace, who, if they were inflamed before, now became infuriate, and, as one happily expresses it, were raised to a super-celestial sort of virtue, which defies all the restraints of reason and humanity. Things remained pretty much in this state till about the year 1250 ; that is, for half a century.

During this period the efforts of the inquisitors were greatly assisted by the emperor of the Romans, Frederic II., who in the year 1224, promulgated, from Padua, four edicts against heretics, of the most ferocious and sanguinary description, addressed to his beloved princes, the venerable archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of the church ; to the dukes, marquisses, earls, barons, governors, judges, ministers, officials, and all other his faithful subjects throughout the empire. In these edicts he takes the inquisitors under his protection, imposes on obstinate heretics the punishment of being burnt to death, and of perpetual imprisonment on the penitent, committing the cognizance of the crime to the ecclesiastical, and the condemnation of the criminals, as well as the infliction of the punishment, to the secular judges. As the object of all these bloody edicts was chiefly to destroy the Waldenses or Albigenses, it may not be foreign to our purpose to give a specimen of the spirit that breathes throughout the whole of them.

“The care of the imperial government,” says his Majesty, “committed to us from heaven, and over which we preside, demands the material sword, which is given to us separately from the priesthood, against the enemies of the faith, and for the extirpation of heretical pravity, that we should pursue with judgment and justice, those vipers and perfidious children who insult the Lord and his church as though they would tear out the very bowels of their mother. We

shall not suffer these wretches to live who infect the world by their seducing doctrines, and who, being themselves corrupted, more grievously taint the flock of the faithful." He then proceeds to denounce the most dreadful sentences against all persons convicted of heresy, against all who may be employed as advocates for them, and against all who may be detected in receiving and abetting them, condemning their persons, disinheriting their children, and confiscating their property.

The second edict, though not less sanguinary, was more definite in its object, since it professes to have directly in view the destruction of the sect of the Paterines, of whom, it will be recollected, a particular account has been given in a former section. The reader shall have a specimen. "The heretics are endeavouring to rend the seamless coat of our God, and raging with deceitful words, strive to divide the unity of the invisible faith itself, and to separate the sheep from the care of St. Peter, to whom they were committed by the good Shepherd, to be fed. These are the ravenous wolves within, who put on the meekness of the sheep, that they may the better enter into the Lord's sheepfold. These are the worst angels—the sons of naughtiness, of the father of wickedness—appointed to deceive simple souls. These are adders who deceive the doves—serpents which crawl in private, and under the sweetness of honey, vomit poison; so that whilst they pretend to administer the food of life, they sting with their tail, and mingle the most bitter poison into the cup of death.—They call themselves PATERINES, after the example of the martyrs.* These miserable Paterines, who do not believe the eternal Trinity, by their complicated wickedness offend

* "PATERINES, after the example of the martyrs." Notwithstanding the obscurity which rests upon the etymology of this name, does it not appear evident from this Imperial Edict, that it was *then* understood to have been conferred on these people on account of the sufferings to which they were exposed—and if so, may it not be derived from the Latin verb *Pati*, "to suffer?"

against three, viz. God, their neighbour, and themselves. Against God, because they do not acknowledge the Son and the true faith—they deceive their neighbours, whilst under the pretence of spiritual food, they minister the delights of heretical pravity—but their cruelty to themselves is yet more savage, since besides the loss of their immortal souls, they expose their bodies to a cruel death, being prodigal of their lives and fearless of destruction, which by acknowledging the true faith they might escape, and, which is horrible to express, *their survivors are not terrified by their example*. Against such enemies to God and man we cannot contain our indignation, nor refuse to punish them with the sword of just vengeance, but shall pursue them with so much the greater vigour, as they appear to spread wider the crimes of their superstition, to the most evident injury of the Christian faith, and of the church of Rome, which is adjudged to be the head of all other churches.” The edict then proceeds to denounce every one convicted of belonging to the sect of the Paterines, as guilty of the crime of high treason—to be punished with the loss of life and of goods, and their memory rendered infamous. It enjoins that strict inquiry be made by the officials, after all such as commit those crimes, and wherever the smallest *suspicion* exists, that such be examined by the ecclesiastics and prelates, and if found to err in one point from the catholic faith, they are, in case of obstinacy by that edict condemned to suffer death,—to be committed to the punishment of the flames, and to be burned alive in public view—forbidding any, on pain of incurring the imperial indignation, to intercede for such persons.

The third law is as follows—“ We condemn the receivers, accomplices, and abettors of the Paterines, to forfeiture of their goods and perpetual banishment, who by their care to save others, have no fear or regard for themselves. Let not their children be in any wise admitted to honours, but always accounted infamous, nor let them be allowed as witnesses in any causes in which infamous persons are refused.

But if the children of those who favour the Paterines shall discover any one of them, so that he shall be convicted, let them, as the reward of their acknowledgment of the faith, be entirely restored by our imperial favour, to their forfeited honour and estate.”

In the fourth edict his Imperial Majesty is pleased thus to proceed,—“ We condemn to perpetual infamy, withdraw our protection from, and put under our ban,* the Puritans, Paterines, Leonists, Arnoldists, Passagines, Josephines, Albigenses, Waldenses, &c., and all other heretics of both sexes, and of whatsoever name ; and ordain that their goods may be so confiscated as that their children may never inherit them, since it is much more heinous to offend the eternal than the temporal majesty.” It then proceeds to condemn *all suspected persons*, as heretics, if they do not purge themselves within a year—commands the officials to exterminate heretics from all places subject to them—orders that the lands of the barons shall be seized by the Catholics, if they do not purge them from heretics, within a year after proper admonition, and ordains various punishments against all the favourers of heretics—thus closing the dreadful catalogue. “ Furthermore, we put under our ban those who believe, receive, defend, and favour heretics ; ordaining that if any person shall refuse to give satisfaction within a year after his excommunication, he shall be, *ipso jure*, infamous, and not admitted to any kind of public offices—let him be *intestable*, and let him not have the power of making a will, nor of receiving any thing by succession or inheritance. Moreover, let no one answer for him in any affair, but let him be obliged to answer others. If he should be a judge, let his sentence be of no effect, nor any causes be heard before him. If an advocate, let him never be admitted to plead in any one’s defence. If a notary, let no instruments made by him be valid. We add that a heretic may be convicted by a heretic, and

* For the meaning of this, the reader may revert to Vol. I. ch. iv.

that the houses of the Paterines, their abettors and favourers; either where they have taught, or where they have laid hands on others, shall be destroyed, never to be rebuilt.*—*Dated at Padua, Feb. 22, 1224.*

Any thing more infamous than these edicts, in the way of spiritual tyranny, it would be difficult to imagine; and although, by reason of the circumstances of the times and the differences which soon arose between the Pope and the Emperor, they had not all that effect which might have been expected, it is, nevertheless, certain that the Inquisition was greatly promoted by them. They were approved and confirmed by the Pope, and inserted in his bulls, and in process of time, the persecuting spirit which pervades them, came gradually to be incorporated into the laws of almost every country in Europe.

After the death of Frederic, which happened about the middle of the century, Pope Innocent IV. remaining sole arbiter of the affairs of Lombardy and other parts of Italy, set himself diligently to extirpate heresy, which of late had exceedingly increased; and considering the labour which had been employed in his service by the Franciscan and Dominican friars, whose zeal, unrestrained by either respect of persons or the fear of dangers—by any regard to justice or the feelings of humanity, had recommended them highly to the pontiff, he cheerfully availed himself of their ardour to second his efforts.

Preaching was found of little avail, and even the enlisting of crusaders and inflicting military execution was suspended for the sake of erecting in different countries standing tribunals, armed with tremendous authority, but charged solely with the purgation of heretical pravity.†

* The reader will find these Edicts entire in the first vol. of Limborch's History of the Inquisition, ch. xii.

† The phrase "heretical pravity," will sound rather uncouth to modern ears that have not been accustomed to the jargon of the catholic writers, but the reader should be told that it is the usual slang of those writers for denoting *the wickedness of thinking differently from the church of Rome.*

To the establishment of these novel tribunals there were, however, two objections started. The first, that it was an encroachment on the authority of the ordinary bishop of the place, and the second that it was unprecedented to exclude the civil magistrate from the trial and punishment of heretics, on whom it hath hitherto devolved. To remove the first of these difficulties, an expedient was soon devised—the Pope enacted that the tribunal should consist of the inquisitor, with the bishop of the place also, but so managing the affair, at the same time, that the inquisitor was not only to be the principal, but, in reality, every thing, and leaving the bishop little more than the name of a judge. To remedy the second inconvenience, and to give at least the appearance of authority to the secular powers, they were allowed to appoint the subordinate officers to the inquisition, yet still subject to the approbation of the inquisitors; they were also allowed to send with the inquisitor when he should go into the country, one of their assessors, whom the inquisitors should choose. Of all the property belonging to heretics which they should be enabled to confiscate, a third part was to go to the community, in return for which, the community was to defray the whole expense of keeping the prisons, and supporting the prisoners. The infliction of the legal punishment was also vested in the magistrate, after trial and condemnation by the inquisitors; but that was a matter so much of course, and which he well knew he could not avoid executing, without incurring the vengeance of the church, that, in fact, it only converted him into a spiritual judge's executioner: and thus, to use the language of Dr. Jortin, "the priest was the judge, and the king was the hangman."*

Such was the footing on which "the holy office" was placed in the year 1251, in the ecclesiastical states of Italy, which were under the Pope's immediate inspection. It was afterwards extended to more distant provinces, and every

where intrusted to the management of Dominican friars. Thirty-one rules or articles, defining their jurisdiction and powers, and regulating the procedure of this spiritual court of judicature, were devised; and all rulers and magistrates were commanded, by a papal bull, issued for the purpose, to give, under pain of excommunication, the most punctual obedience, and every possible assistance to this holy court.

It should, however, be remarked; that the attempts which were made to introduce the inquisition, did not prove equally successful in all Roman Catholic states, nor even in the greater part of them. It was never in the power of the Pope to obtain the establishment of this tribunal in many of the most populous countries that were subject to the Sec of Rome. In France it was early introduced, but soon afterwards expelled, in such a manner, as effectually to preclude a renewal of the attempt. The difficulties arose partly from the conduct of the inquisitors, their inordinate severity, their unbounded extortion and avarice, and the propensity they showed, on every occasion, to extend, beyond measure, their own authority; insomuch that they were making rapid strides to engross, under one pretext or another, all the criminal jurisdiction of the magistrate; for, under the head of heresy, they insisted, were included, infidelity, blasphemy, perjury, sorcery, poisoning, bigamy, usury! Another reason was, that the tribunal was found to be so expensive, that the community refused to sustain the burden of it. Nor has it been alike severe in every place into which it has been introduced. In Spain and Portugal this scourge and disgrace to humanity has for centuries glared, monster-like, with its most frightful aspect—in Rome it has been much more tolerable. Papal avarice has served to counterbalance papal tyranny. The wealth of modern Rome has arisen very much from the constant resort of strangers from all countries and of all denominations, and chiefly those of the higher ranks. Nothing could have more effectually checked that resort, and of course the influx of riches into that capital, than such a horrid tri-

bunal as that which existed at Lisbon and Madrid, and which diffused a terror that was felt to the utmost confines of those unhappy kingdoms.

Exclusive of the cruel punishments inflicted by the holy office, says a late writer, it may be truly affirmed, that the inquisition is a school of vice. There the artful judge, grown old in habits of subtlety, along with the sly secretary, practises his cunning in interrogating a prisoner to fix a charge of heresy. Now he fawns, and then he frowns; now soothes, and then looks dark and angry; sometimes affects to pity and to pray, at other times insults and bullies, and talks of racks and dungeons, flames, and the damnation of hell. One while he lays his hand upon his heart, and sheds tears, and promises, and protests he desires not the death of a sinner, but would rather that he would turn and live; and all that he can do he will do for the discharge, aye, for the preferment of his imprisoned brother. Another while he discovers himself deaf as a rock, false as the wind, and cruel as the poison of asps.*

In no country has the operation of this dreadful court of spiritual despotism been more strikingly exemplified than in Spain. The subject has been placed in the most instructive point of view by two accurate and elegant modern historians,† and their reflections upon it are so just and natural, that as it cannot be unacceptable to the reader, I shall give the substance of what they have said.

The court of inquisition, which, although it was not the parent, has been the nurse and guardian of ignorance and superstition in every kingdom into which it has been admitted, was introduced into Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella, and was principally intended to prevent the relapse of the Jews and Moors, who had been converted, or who pretended to be converted, to the faith of the Church of

* Robinson's *Ecclesiastical Researches*, p. 277.

† Watson's *History of Philip II. king of Spain*, and Robertson's *History of Charles V.*

Rome. Its jurisdiction, however, was not confined to the Jews and Moors, but extended to all those who in their practice or opinions differed from the established church. In the united kingdoms of Castille and Arragon, there were *eighteen different inquisitorial courts*, having each of them its counsellors, termed apostolical inquisitors; its secretaries, serjeants, and other officers; and besides these there were *twenty thousand familiars* dispersed throughout the kingdom, who acted as spies and informers, and were employed to apprehend all suspected persons, and commit them for trial, to the prisons which belonged to the inquisition. By these familiars, persons were seized on bare suspicion, and in contradiction to the established rules of equity, they were put to the torture, tried and condemned by the inquisitors, without being confronted, either with their accusers, or with the witnesses on whose evidence they were condemned. The punishments inflicted were more or less dreadful, according to the caprice and humour of the judges. The unhappy victims were either strangled or committed to the flames, or loaded with chains, and shut up in dungeons during life—their effects confiscated, and their families stigmatized with infamy.

This institution was, no doubt, well calculated to produce an uniformity of religious profession, but it had a tendency also to destroy the sweets of social life; to banish all freedom of thought and speech; to disturb men's minds with the most disquieting apprehensions, and to produce the most intolerable slavery, by reducing persons of all ranks in life to a state of abject dependence upon priests; whose integrity were it even greater than that of other men, as in every false profession of religion it is less, must have been corrupted by the uncontrolled authority which they were allowed to exercise. By this tribunal a visible change was wrought in the temper of the people, and reserve, distrust, and jealousy, became the distinguishing characteristics of a Spaniard. It confirmed and perpetuated the reign of ignorance and superstition; inflamed the rage

of religious bigotry, and by the cruel spectacles to which, in the execution of its decrees, it familiarized the people, it nourished in them that ferocious spirit, which in the Netherlands and America they manifested by deeds that have fixed an indelible reproach upon the Spanish name.

Authors of undoubted credit affirm, and without the least exaggeration, that millions of persons have been ruined by this horrible court. Moors were banished, a million at a time. Six or eight hundred thousand Jews were driven away at once, and their immense riches seized by their accusers, and distributed among their persecutors, while thousands dissembled, and professed themselves Christians only to be harassed in future. Heretics of all ranks and of various denominations were imprisoned and burnt, or fled into other countries. The gloom of despotism overshadowed all Spain. The people at first reasoned, and rebelled, and murdered the inquisitors—the aged murmured and died—the next generation fluttered and complained, but their successors were completely tamed by education; and the Spaniards are now trained up by their priests to shudder at the thought of thinking for themselves. That honour to his country and of human nature, the late Mr. Howard, says, when he saw the inquisition at Valladolid, “I could not but observe, that even the sight of it struck terror into the common people as they passed. It is styled, (he adds,) by a monstrous abuse of words, ‘the holy apostolic court of inquisition.’”

A simple narrative of the proceedings of the inquisition has shocked the world, and the cruelty of it has become proverbial. Nothing ever displayed so fully to the eyes of mankind the spirit and temper of the papal religion. “Christians,” says Tertullian, “were often called, not Christiani, but Chrestiani, from the gentleness of their manners, and the sweetness of their tempers.” Jesus himself was the essence of mildness. His apostles were gentle, even as a nurse that cherisheth her children. But what an awful contrast is exhibited in this horrid court of papal

inquisition. Let us hear the description which Voltaire, a very competent witness, gives of it. "Their form of proceeding," says he, "is an infallible way to destroy whomsoever the inquisitors wish. The prisoners are not confronted with the accuser or informer. Nor is there any informer or witness who is not listened to. A public convict, a notorious malefactor, an infamous person, a common prostitute, a child, are in the holy office, though no where else, credible accusers and witnesses. Even the son may depose against his father, the wife against her husband." The wretched prisoner is no more made acquainted with his crime than with his accuser, and were he told the one it might possibly lead him to guess the other. To avoid this, he is compelled, by tedious confinement in a noisome dungeon, where he never sees a face but the jailor's, and is not permitted the use of either books or pen and ink—or should confinement alone not be sufficient, he is compelled, by the most excruciating tortures, to inform against himself, to discover and confess the crime laid to his charge, of which he is often ignorant. This procedure," says our historian, "unheard of till the institution of this court, makes the whole kingdom tremble. Suspicion reigns in every breast. Friendship and quietness are at an end. The brother dreads his brother, the father his son. Hence taciturnity is become the characteristic of a nation, endued with all the vivacity natural to the inhabitants of a warm and fruitful climate. To this tribunal we must likewise impute that profound ignorance of sound philosophy in which Spain lies buried, whilst Germany, England, France, and even Italy, have discovered so many truths, and enlarged the sphere of our knowledge. Never is human nature so debased, as where ignorance is armed with power."*

But these melancholy effects of the Inquisition are a trifle when compared with those public sacrifices, called

* Voltaire's Universal History, Vol. II. ch. cxviii.

Auto da Fe, or Acts of Faith, and to the shocking barbarities that precede them. A priest in a white surplice, or a monk who has vowed meekness and humility, causes his fellow-creatures to be put to the torture in a dismal dungeon. A stage is erected in the public market-place, where the condemned prisoners are conducted to the stake, attended with a train of monks and religious confraternities. They sing psalms, say mass, and butcher mankind. Were a native of Asia to come to Madrid upon a day of an execution of this sort, it would be impossible for him to tell, whether it were a rejoicing, a religious feast, a sacrifice, or a massacre; and yet it is all this together! The kings, whose presence alone in other cases is the harbinger of mercy, assist at this spectacle uncovered, seated lower than the inquisitors, and are spectators of their subjects expiring in the flames. The Spaniards reproached Montezuma with immolating his captives to his gods; what would he have said, had he beheld an "*Auto da Fe*?"

It is but doing justice, however, to many Roman Catholic states, and to thousands of individuals belonging to that church, to say, that they abhor this infernal tribunal, almost as much as do Protestants themselves. This is sufficiently evinced by the tumults which were excited in several parts of Italy, Milan, and Naples in particular, and afterwards in France, as well as in other catholic countries, by the attempts that were made to introduce it at first, and by its actual expulsion from some places, where, to all appearance, it was firmly established. It is, indeed, matter of regret that any among the members of that church should have their minds so enslaved by prejudice, as to imagine, for a moment, that a despotism which required for its support such diabolical engines, could possibly be of heavenly origin. There is something in the very constitution of this tribunal so monstrously unjust, so exorbitantly cruel, that it must ever excite one's astonishment, that the people of any country should have permitted its existence among them. How they could have inconsis-

tency to acknowledge a power to be from God which has found it necessary to recur to expedients so manifestly from hell, so subversive of every principle of sound morality and religion, can be regarded only as one of those contradictions, for which human characters, both individuals and nations, are often so remarkable. The wisdom that is from above is pure, peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy. But the policy of Rome, as displayed in the Inquisition, is so strikingly characterized by that wisdom which is earthly, sensual, and devilish, that the person who needs to be convinced of it, seems to be altogether beyond the power of argument. Never were two systems more diametrically opposed in their spirit, their maxims, and effects, than primitive Christianity, and the religion of modern Rome; nor do heaven and hell, Christ and Belial, exhibit to our view a more glaring contrast.*

SECTION VI.

History of the persecutions of the Albigenses in France, during the thirteenth century.

THE flight of Peter Waldo from Lyons, and the consequent dispersion of his flock throughout the south of France, took place in the year 1163. As nothing lay nearer the hearts of the popes, than an anxious desire to crush in its infancy every doctrine that opposed their exorbitant power, they were seldom remiss in adopting such measures as appeared to them best calculated for promoting that favourite object. Accordingly we find that in the same year (1163) a synod was convened at Tours, a city of France, at which all the bishops and priests in the country of Tou-

* See Father Paul Sarpi's *History of the council of Trent*; and Dr. G. Campbell's *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*.

louse, were strictly enjoined “to take care, and to forbid, under pain of excommunication, every person from presuming to give reception, or the least assistance to the followers of this heresy; to have no dealings with them in buying or selling, that thus being deprived of the common necessities of life, they might be compelled to repent of the evil of their way.” And, further, that “whosoever should dare to contravene this order, should be excommunicated as a partner with them in their guilt.” And, lastly, that “as many of them as could be found, should be imprisoned by the catholic princes, and punished with the forfeiture of all their substance.”*

It is very natural to suppose that these cruel precautionary proceedings, if followed up with much rigour, must drive the friends of Waldo to seek an asylum in more hospitable climes; and, of course, many of them took refuge in the valleys of Piedmont, while others proceeded to Bohemia, and not a few migrated into Spain. Hence, in the year 1194, in consequence of some of the Waldenses coming into the province of Arragon, King Ildefonsus issued a severe and bloody edict, by which “he banished them from his kingdom and all his dominions, as enemies of the cross of Christ, profaners of the Christian religion, and public enemies to himself and kingdom.”†

Yet, notwithstanding these inhuman proceedings, both in France and Spain, “so mightily grew the word of God and prevailed,” that in the year 1200, both the city of Toulouse, and eighteen other principal towns in Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné, were filled with Waldenses and Albigenses. This, no doubt, was owing, under God, to the protection that was afforded them by the Counts of Toulouse and Foix, the Viscount of Beziers, and several other of the French nobility. It can excite no surprise, therefore, that their numbers and, growing influence should

* Baronius's *Annals*, sect. 18. n. 4. quoted in Limborch, ch. ix.

† Bzovius, A. 1199. sect. 38. in Limborch, ch. ix.

spread universal alarm at Rome, and that the most spirited exertions should be determined on for subduing them.

The first measures resorted to were the issuing of papal canons and sentences of excommunication. Not only was the whole sect anathematized, but also every one who should receive them into their houses, and protect them, or hold any intercourse with them. The archbishops and bishops of Guienne and other provinces of France, as well as the clergy throughout their different diocesses, were enjoined to banish the Waldenses, Puritans, and Paterines from their territories; to mark them, and take care that they should neither enjoy Christian privileges while living, nor burial when dead. Kings, princes, and magistrates, were called upon to support and assist the Catholic clergy with the power of the sword; to confiscate the property, and raze to the foundation the houses, of these heretics, and of all that countenanced them.*

To give efficacy to these measures, Pope Innocent III. sent two of his legates into France, viz. the famous REINERUS, (whom I have already had frequent occasion to mention) and GUIDO, the founder of the order of Hospitallers, to stimulate the clergy to greater diligence, to watch the conduct of the nobles, and on the detection of any of the heretics, to demand the most summary proceedings against them—enjoining his legates to transmit him by messenger or letter, the fullest information they could procure, that thus, being more particularly informed, he might the better know how to proceed against them.

Our learned countryman, Archbishop Usher, to whom we are under great obligations for the pains he took to explore the affairs of this dark period, and to illustrate the history of the Waldensian churches, gives us a very amusing account of the strain of preaching which prevailed throughout those Catholic countries at that period. The

* Rankin's Hist. of France, Vol. III. and Limborch's History of the Inquisition, ch. ix.

preachers had one favourite text, viz. Psalm xciv. 16. "*Who will rise up for me against the evil doers? or who will stand up for me against the workers of iniquity?*" And it is probable that the sermon was as uniform as the text, for we are told they generally concluded thus: "You see, most dear brethren, how great the wickedness of the heretics is, and how much mischief they do in the world. You see also, how tenderly, and by how many pious methods the church labours to reclaim them. But with them they all prove ineffectual, and they fly to the secular power for their defence. Therefore our holy mother, the church, though with reluctance and grief, calls together against them the Christian army. If then you have any zeal for the faith; if you are touched with any concern for the honour of God; if you would reap the benefit of this great indulgence, come and receive the sign of the cross, and join yourselves to the army of the crucified Saviour."

As the country of Toulouse was the principal place of rendezvous for the Albigenses, and as they abounded there in immense numbers, the Pope evinced the utmost solicitude to prevail upon Count Raymond to expel them from his dominions. But all his entreaties to induce the latter, either to banish so large a number of his peaceable subjects, or even to persecute them, proving fruitless, he ordered him to be excommunicated as a favourer of heretics. He sent his legate with letters to many of the prelates, commanding them to make inquisition against the heretical Albigenses in France, to destroy them and convert their protectors. He also wrote to Philip, king of France, reminding him that it was his duty to take arms against those heretics, and to use all his power to suppress them, that by thus labouring to stem the progress of heresy, he might purge himself from all suspicion of being tainted therewith in his own person. Twelve abbots of the Cistercian order, accompanied with the Pope's legate, went preaching the cross against the Albigenses, and promising, by the authority of his holiness, a plenary remission of their sins, to all

who took on them the crusade. The famous, or, more properly speaking, the infamous, Dominic, the founder of the Inquisition, joined himself to this association, and, while engaged on this murderous expedition, he is said to have digested the plan of that iniquitous court.

The efforts of Reinerius, and his associates, not answering the sanguine expectations of the Pope, and the scheme of Dominic for establishing the Inquisition, being communicated to him, the latter, in the year 1216, transmitted his letters patent, creating Dominic inquisitor general, which was confirmed by the council of Lateran in the same year. Having received these letters, and being thus armed with authority, Dominic, on a certain day, in the midst of a large concourse of people, in the church of St. Prullian, announced in one of his sermons, that “he was raised by the Pope to a new office; adding, that he was resolved to defend, with his utmost vigour, the doctrines of the faith; and that if the spiritual and ecclesiastical arms were not sufficient for this end, it was his fixed determination to call in the aid of the civil magistrate, to excite and compel the Catholic princes to take arms against heretics, that the very memory of them might be entirely destroyed.”

A nobleman in the vicinity of Narbonne, having about this time been converted to the Catholic faith, the inquisitors obtained possession of his house or castle, where they fixed their court, and commenced the operations of that iniquitous system. On the one hand, they offered to converts the remission of all their sins, plenary indulgences, and various other privileges; and on the other, the obstinate were branded, imprisoned, and tortured. Multitudes were allured by these deceitful pretexts to enrol themselves under the banners of St. Dominic, vainly imagining, that they could thus make compensation for their sins.

Dominic framed a code of regulations for the preservation and proper government of this crusading fraternity. One was, that such as entered upon this warfare should take an oath, that they would endeavour with all their

might to recover, defend, and protect the rights of the church, against all who should presume to usurp them; and that they would expose themselves and their estates in defence of the ecclesiastical immunities, by taking up arms as often as they should be called upon to do it, by the prelate of the war, an honour at that time vested in Dominic himself, and subsequently in the masters general of the Dominican order. If any of them were married, an oath was required from their wives, that they would not persuade their husbands to forsake the war for the support of the ecclesiastical privileges, promising them eternal life as the reward of so pious a service. To distinguish them from laics, a peculiar dress was devised for both the men and their wives, consisting of white and black colours, but of different make. None were to be admitted to this sacred warfare, without a previous rigorous examination of his life, manners, and faith—whether he had paid his debts, forgiven his enemies, and made his will, that he might be the more ready for the battle, and also whether he had obtained leave from his wife before a notary and proper witnesses. The wives of those that were slain in the expedition promised that they would never marry again. All this, no doubt, was highly ridiculous; but it imposed an air of sacredness upon the thing which took with the vulgar, and rendered the crusade so popular, that numbers entered into it with avidity, hoping by the slaughter of heretics, and the plunder of their goods, to ensure their admission into heaven.*

With all this, however, the cause proceeded but slowly. The Pope was dissatisfied. The measures of Dominic and his adherents, seemed to him but as the sprinkling of water, which only aggravated and extended the flame of heresy. He, therefore, denounced open and more violent war; invited the Catholic princes and nobles to take up arms, and commissioned his ministers to preach the same indulgences,

* Limborch's Inquisition, ch. xi.

and to offer terms of every kind, as advantageous as those that were granted when levies were made for crusading to Asia.*

The court of Rome, however, with a view to preserve at least the semblance of decency, thought it expedient, before proceeding to compulsory measures with the Albigenses, to try to reclaim them to the church by the more gentle and reasonable methods of persuasion, and the latter formed the resolution of defending their own principles. They consequently gave the bishops to understand that some of their pastors were ready to discuss the subject with them in open conference, provided the thing could be conducted with propriety. They explained their notions of propriety by proposing that there should be moderators on each side, vested with authority to prevent tumult and preserve order and regularity—that the conference should be held in some place to which all parties concerned might have free and safe access—and lastly, that a particular subject should be agreed upon between the disputants, which should be steadily prosecuted until it was fully discussed and determined, and that the party which could not maintain it by an appeal to the Scriptures, the only standard of faith to Christians, should own themselves vanquished.

The proposal was so reasonable that it could not with decency be rejected; it was therefore accepted by the bishops and monks. The place of conference agreed upon was Montreal, near Carcassone, in the year 1206. The umpires on the Catholic side were the bishops of Villeneuve and Auxere—and on that of the Albigenses, R. de Bot, and Anthony Riviere. On the part of the latter, several pastors were appointed to manage the debate, of whom Arnold Hot was the principal. He arrived first at the appointed place. A bishop of the name of Eusus met him on behalf of the papacy, accompanied by the renowned Dominic, two of the pope's legates, and several other of the Ca-

* See Vol. I. ch. iv. sect. 4.

tholic clergy. The points which Arnold undertook to prove were, that the mass and transubstantiation were idolatrous and unscriptural—that the church of Rome was not the spouse of Christ—and that its polity was of a pernicious and wicked tendency. Arnold drew up certain propositions upon those points, which he transmitted to the bishop, who required fifteen days to answer them, which was granted. On the appointed day, the bishop appeared, and produced a large manuscript, which was read in the public assembly. Arnold requested that he might be permitted to reply by word of mouth, only entreating their patience if he took a considerable time in answering so prolix a writing, and fair promises were made him of a patient hearing. He then discoursed for the space of four days upon the subject, with such fluency and readiness, such order, perspicuity, and forcible reasoning, that a strong impression was produced on the audience. Arnold, at length, called upon his opponents to defend themselves. What they said on the occasion, we are not informed, but the cause of the abrupt termination of the conference is a fact allowed on all hands, and may possibly suggest what was the real state of the controversy. For, while the pope's legates were disputing with Arnold, the umpire of the papal party, the bishop of Villeneuve, declared that nothing could be determined, because *the army of the crusaders was at hand*.* What he asserted, alas, was but too true; the papal armies advanced, and, by fire and faggot, instantly decided all the points of the controversy; and if we may place any reliance upon writers of unimpeachable veracity, “the armies employed by Pope Innocent III. destroyed above two hundred thousand of them in the short space of a few months.”† Arnold and his brethren, indeed, might have been fully assured that it never was the intention of the Pope to submit to any decision of the controversy by argument, which might happen to be unfavour-

* Perrin's History of the Albigenses, b. iii. ch. ii.

† Dr. Grosvenor's Sermon against Popery, at Salter's Hall, 1735.

able to his party. The acquiescence of his holiness in the proposal to discuss the differences between the parties in a public disputation, was, in all probability, a mere manœuvre, intended only to amuse the Albigenses and gain time, till the armies that were preparing with a view to destroy them might be in readiness. Platina, one of their own writers, in his *Life of Innocent III.*, seems to insinuate as much, when he tells us, that “there was need, not only of disputations, but of arms also; to such a pitch was the heresy grown.” The bull which the Pope had already issued, in consequence of the death of Peter de Chatineau, had also made that sufficiently apparent. He had dispatched preachers throughout all Europe to collect an army which should revenge the blood of that man, promising paradise, and the remission of all their sins, to those who should bear arms forty days in that holy warfare; and, after telling them that “they were not to keep faith with those who do not keep faith with God,” he thus proceeds, “We exhort you, that you would endeavour to destroy the wicked heresy of the Albigenses, and do this with more rigour than you would towards the Saracens themselves; persecute them with a strong hand; deprive them of their lands and possessions; banish them and put Roman Catholics in their room.”*

RAYMOND, the sixth count of Toulouse, in whose territories the Albigenses chiefly abounded, still humanely extended to them his protection and patronage. Pope Innocent, by a bull, had excommunicated him as a favourer of heretics—he was prohibited the communion of holy things and of the faithful—all his subjects were absolved from their oath of allegiance, and power was dispensed to any catholic man not only to act against his person, but to seize his dominions, and dispossess him of them, under the pretext that by the prudence of the one, they might be effectually purged from heresy, as they had been grievously

* Clarke's Martyrology, ch. xxiv.

defiled by the wickedness of the other. Yet he does not appear to have been in the least diverted from his purpose by these horrid proceedings. His character is variously represented by the friends and enemies of his party. The former describe him, not only as generous and brave, but as pious and virtuous, while the latter revile him as a hypocrite. The true account of him seems to be, that whether he had adopted the sentiments of the Albigenses or not, he humanely sympathized with them—that he understood the spirit of true religion to be a spirit of tolerance; that he studied to promote the real interests of his country; and with these views, at least, that he was desirous to protect all such as were useful members of society, whatever might be their peculiar religious tenets. Under such patronage their numbers rapidly increased, but it proportionally inflamed the indignation of the fierce and bloody inquisitors.*

While affairs remained in this critical posture, it unfortunately happened that Peter Chatineau, one of the inquisitors, was assassinated, and Count Raymond was suspected of being, at least, privy to the murder. The catholics loudly inveighed against the crime as of the deepest dye. The Count protested his innocence, affirming that he was in no respect guilty of the death of that friar—that he had been killed at St. Giles by a certain gentleman whom Peter had pursued, and who immediately afterwards retired to his friends at Beaucaire—that he had done every thing in his power to apprehend the manslayer; and in fine, that even were it true that he had been in any respect accessory to the murder, the ordinary course of justice ought to be pursued, and not to revenge it upon his subjects who were innocent. To all this the Catholic party were deaf; Raymond was loaded with infamy, and with the highest censures of the church; and in a little time, an expedition of more than one hundred thousand cross-bearers (crusaders) was actually equipped against him.

* Rankin's History of France, Vol. III.

Raymond was justly alarmed—he offered to submit, promised obedience, and as a proof of his sincerity, delivered up into the hands of the Pope seven fortified places in Provence. But that was not a sufficient sacrifice to ecclesiastical pride and malignity. He was required to present himself before the gates of the church of St. Agde, in the town of that name. Upwards of twenty bishops and archbishops were present, convened for the purpose of receiving his submission. He was required to swear upon the holy solemnities of the eucharist and the relics of the saints, which were exposed with great reverence before the gates of the church, and held by several prelates, that he would obey the commands of the holy Roman church. When he had thus bound himself by an oath, the legate ordered one of the sacred vestments to be thrown over his neck, and, drawing him by means of it, he was brought into the church, where, having scourged him with a whip, he absolved him. It is added, “that he was so grievously torn by the stripes in scourging, that he was unable to go out by the way in which he had entered the church, but was forced to pass, quite naked as he was, through the lower gate. He was also compelled to undergo the same degrading process at the sepulchre of St. Peter the martyr at New Castres.”*

The immense army of crusaders, however, being now in motion, was not to be reduced to a state of inactivity because the Earl of Toulouse had effected his reconciliation with the See of Rome. On the contrary, they every where attacked the Albigenses, took possession of the cities in which they were known to be, filled the streets with slaughter and blood, and committed to the flames numbers whom they had taken prisoners. Raymond had a nephew of the name of Roger, who was more bold and determined than his uncle. He was at the head of seven fiefs, or baronies, dependent, however, upon the Earl of Toulouse, and he

* Limborch's Inquisition, ch. xi.

evinced no disposition to yield an implicit obedience to the orders of Rome, nor abandon the people who had put themselves under his protection. Among the humiliating stipulations imposed upon the Earl of Toulouse, the one most repugnant to his feelings was, that he himself should lead the crusading army against Beziers, the capital of his own nephew's dominions; which was in effect now to make him the instrument of the destruction of the Albigenses, as he had hitherto been their protector, and indeed the destruction of his nephew also. This has ever been the detestable policy of the court of Rome, never to be satisfied with reasonable offers of submission, without degrading the wretched suppliant, even in his own eyes. The Earl continued with the army a few days and then took his leave of the legate, choosing rather to take a journey to Rome, in order to humble himself before the Pope, a privilege which could not be denied him, than continue with it to be a spectator of the murder of thousands of peaceable and virtuous men, and the ruin of his own nephew.

When the army advanced towards the neighbourhood of Beziers, the fate of the city was easily foreseen, and the nephew of Raymond, fully sensible that it could not be defended against a hundred thousand men, went out of the city, threw himself at the feet of the pope's legate, and supplicated his mercy in favour of his capital, beseeching him not to involve the innocent with the guilty, which must be the case if Beziers were taken by storm—that there were many Roman Catholics in the city, who would be involved in one indiscriminate scene of ruin contrary to the intentions of the Pope, whose object was understood to be solely the punishment of the Albigenses. Numerous other topics of entreaty were urged by the young prince; but the answer of the legate to all he could plead was, that “all his apologies and excuses would avail him nothing, and that he must do the best he could for himself.” Thus foiled in his object, the Earl of Beziers returned into the city, convened the inhabitants, to whom he explained the

ill success that had attended his mission; and particularly, that the only condition upon which pardon would be granted by the pope's legate was, that the Albigenses should abjure their religion, and promise to live according to the laws of the Roman church.

The Catholic inhabitants of Beziers now interposed, using every entreaty with the Albigenses to comply with that stipulation, and not be the occasion of *their* death, since the legate was resolved to pardon none, unless they all consented to live in subjection to one rule of faith.

The Albigenses replied, that they never could consent to purchase a prolongation of this perishing life at the price of renouncing their faith—that they were fully persuaded God could, if he pleased, protect and defend them:—but they were as fully persuaded, that if it were his good pleasure to be glorified by the confession of their faith, it would be a high honour conferred upon them to sacrifice their lives for righteousness' sake—that they much preferred displeasing the Pope, who could only destroy their bodies, to incurring the displeasure of God, who is able to destroy both soul and body together—that they hoped never to be ashamed of, nor forsake, a faith by which they had been taught the knowledge of Christ and his righteousness, and, at the hazard of eternal death, barter it for a religion which annihilated the merits of the Saviour, and rendered his righteousness of none effect. They, therefore, left it to the Catholics and the Earl of Beziers to make the best terms they could for themselves, but entreated that they would not promise any thing on *their* behalf inconsistent with their duty as Christians.

Finding the Albigenses inflexible, the Catholic party, next sent their own bishop to the legate, to entreat him not to comprehend in the punishment of the Albigenses, those that had always been constant and uniform in their adherence to the church of Rome. In this interview the bishop explained to him that he was their prelate; and he knew them well; and that as to the Albigenses, he did not

think them so irrecoverable as to be past all hopes of repentance—that, on the contrary, he trusted a becoming mildness on the part of the church, which does not delight in blood, might yet reclaim them.

The sanguinary ecclesiastic, however, was wholly deaf to the voice of humanity. Transported with rage, he gave vent to the most terrible threatenings; and swore that unless all who were in the city acknowledged their guilt, and submitted to the church of Rome, they should every individual be put to the sword, without regard to religious profession, age, or sex—giving instant orders for the city to be summoned to surrender at discretion. Under these circumstances resistance was vain; the assailants were immediately in possession of it, and its inhabitants, to the number of three and twenty thousand, were indiscriminately massacred, and the city itself destroyed by fire. Cæsar informs us, that when the crusaders were about to enter the city, knowing that there were many Catholics mixed with the heretics, and hesitating how they should act in regard to the former, application was made to Arnold, the abbé of Cîteaux, for advice, who instantly replied, “Kill them all—the Lord knoweth them that are his.”*

The Earl of Beziers, foreseeing the ruin which threatened his capital, made his escape, and withdrew to the neighbouring city of Carcassone. This place was much more strongly fortified, both by nature and art, than Beziers, and consequently more defensible. The city, or upper town, stands upon a hill, surrounded by a double wall; the lower town, or borough, is in the plain, about two miles distant from the city. Numbers of the Albigenses resided there, and many more fled to it for security. The young earl, who had now been fully instructed, by the horrible proceedings at Beziers, into the motives and de-

* Perrin's History of the Albigenses, book iii. chap. iv. Bzovius, A. 1209. sect. 1. and Ranaldus, A. 1209. sect. 22. in Limborch's History of the Inquisition, Vol. I. ch. xi.

terminations of the Catholics, resolved, as far as was practicable, to defend Carcassone. He, therefore, convened his subjects, reminded them of the treatment which the inhabitants of Beziers had received, and that they had to do with the same enemies, who had indeed changed the place of siege, but not the cruelty of their dispositions, nor their wish to destroy them if they could effect it. He therefore gave it as his opinion, that it was preferable to die in defence of their city and privileges, rather than fall into the hands of such cruel and relentless enemies. That for his own part, he professed the Roman Catholic religion, but he was fully aware that the present was not a war of religion, but a system of robbery, contrived for the purpose of getting possession of the dominions of his uncle, the Earl of Raymond, and all that were related to him. He therefore urged the inhabitants to defend themselves like men, and to recollect that both their lives and the free exercise of their religion were at stake, pledging himself that he would never forsake them in so honourable a cause as that of defending themselves against their common enemies, who, under the mask of dissembled piety, were, in effect, nothing better than thieves and robbers. This manly address infused courage into the hearts of his subjects—they pledged themselves to defend their sovereign and the city of Carcassone with whatever concerned them.

In the mean-time, the army of the crusaders had been augmented by the arrival of fresh levies from every part of France, as well as from Italy and Germany, to upwards of three hundred thousand men, (some writers make them five hundred thousand) and had advanced to the walls of the town, when they rushed furiously upon the first rampire, filling the ditch with fascines, and making themselves sure of an easy conquest of the place. But they met with so valiant a repulse, that the ground was covered with the dead bodies of the pilgrims (as they called themselves) round about the city. The following day the legate ordered the scaling ladders to be applied, and a general assault

to be made on the town, but the inhabitants made a resolute defence. They were, however, at length, overpowered with numbers, and beat back from the walls, when the enemy entered, and gave the inhabitants of the borough exactly the same treatment they had lately done to those of Beziers, putting them all to the sword.

The city, or upper town, however, was yet secure, but the besieging army lost no time in proceeding to its reduction. The legate commanded them to play all their engines of war upon it, and to take it by assault. But he had the mortification to see his soldiers of the cross fall by thousands—the ground covered, and the ditches filled with the dead bodies of his *pilgrims*. This immense army, in a little time, began to experience the want of forage, which the soldiers were driven to the necessity of seeking about the fields—add to which, that to the term of forty days, for which they had originally enlisted, and in which time they were to purchase the bliss of paradise, was now accomplished ; and, contenting themselves with that great object, they refused to enter upon any further conquest, and withdrew by thousands from the legate's standard. The latter, alarmed at the reduction of his army, and not finding the conquest of the city so practicable as he at first apprehended, had recourse next to stratagem for effecting his purpose. Amongst those who had joined his army with fresh auxiliaries under the walls of Carcassone, was the King of Arragon in Spain. A plot was formed between this monarch and the legate to try the effect of negotiation with the Earl of Beziers, and the former was deputed to solicit an interview and manage the whole affair.

An interview accordingly took place, at which the King of Arragon expressed his wish to know what could induce the Earl to shut himself up in the city of Carcassone against so vast an army of the pilgrims. The latter replied, it was the justice of his cause—that he was fully persuaded the Pope, under the pretext of religion, had formed the design of ruining both his uncle, the Earl of Raymond,

and himself—of this he had had the most convincing proof when he undertook to intercede for his subjects, the inhabitants of Beziers. The pope's legate had refused to spare such of them as were Catholics, and had even butchered the priests themselves, though clothed in their sacerdotal ornaments, and though they had ranged themselves under the banner of the cross: That that horrible instance of cruelty and wickedness, added to their proceedings in the borough of Carcassone, where his unoffending subjects had been exposed to fire and sword without regard to age or sex, had taught him the folly of looking for any mercy at the hands of the legate or his army of pilgrims; that consequently he preferred to die in his own defence rather than be exposed to the mercy of so relentless and inexorable an enemy. He acknowledged to the king, that many of his subjects in the city of Carcassone professed a faith very different from that of the church of Rome, but they were persons who never did wrong or injury to any one, and that in requital of their good services to himself, he was resolved never to desert them. He also expressed his hope that God, who is the protector and defender of the innocent, would support them against that misinformed multitude, who, under the mistaken notion of meriting heaven, had left their own houses to plunder, burn, and destroy the houses of other men, and to murder, without reason, mercy, or discretion.

The King of Arragon returned from this parley, and, in an assembly, consisting of the legate, the lords, and prelates, reported the particulars of what had passed between himself and the Earl of Beziers. The king was requested to withdraw a little while, on which a consultation took place; and being again called in, he was commissioned to return to the Earl and propose to him, that, at *his* intercession, the legate had consented to receive him into mercy, upon the following terms. He should be permitted to come out of the city, and to bring with him a dozen more, with their bag and baggage. But with regard to the rest of

the inhabitants, they should not leave the city except at his discretion, of which they ought to entertain the most favourable opinion, *because he was the pope's legate* ; That all the inhabitants, both men, women, maidens, and children, should come forth without so much as their shirts or shifts on, or the smallest covering to hide their nakedness, and that, finally, the Earl of Beziers should be kept in strict custody and confinement, and that all his possessions should remain in the hands of such a successor as should be chosen for the preservation of the country.

The Spanish monarch was fully persuaded, that propositions so degrading as these, it were needless to offer to the Earl of Beziers ; he, nevertheless, complied with the legate's request, and submitted them to the Earl, who gave an immediate reply that he would never quit the city upon conditions so dishonourable and unjust, and that he was resolved to defend both himself and his subjects by every means that God had put within his power.

Finding himself thus foiled in his attempt to move the Earl of Beziers, the legate soon had recourse to a less honourable, but much more deep laid plot. He insinuated himself into the graces of one of the officers of his army, telling him that it lay in his power to render to the church a signal instance of kindness, and that if he would undertake it, besides the rewards which he should receive in heaven, he should be amply recompensed on earth. The object was to get access to the Earl of Beziers, professing himself to be his kinsman and friend, assuring him that he had something to communicate of the last importance to his interests ; and, having thus far succeeded, he was to prevail upon him to accompany him to the legate, for the purpose of negotiating a peace, under a pledge that he should be safely conducted back again to the city. The officer played his part so dexterously, that the Earl imprudently consented to accompany him. At their interview, the latter submitted to the legate the propriety of exercising a little more lenity and moderation towards his subjects, as

a procedure that might have the happiest tendency in reclaiming the Albigenes into the pale of the church of Rome; he also stated to him, that the conditions which had been formerly proposed to him were dishonourable and shameful, and highly indecorous in those whose eyes ought to be as chaste as their thoughts: that his people would rather choose to die than submit to such disgraceful treatment. The legate replied that the inhabitants of Carcassone might exercise their own pleasure; but that it was now unnecessary for the Earl to trouble himself any further about them, as he was himself a prisoner until Carcassone was taken, and his subjects had better learnt their duty!

The Earl was not a little astonished at this information—protested that he was betrayed, and that faith was violated; for that the gentleman, by whose entreaties he had been prevailed upon to meet the legate, had pledged himself by oaths and execrations to conduct him back in safety to Carcassone. But appeals, remonstrances, or entreaties, were of no avail: he was committed to the custody of the Duke of Burgundy, “and, having been thrown into prison, died soon after, not without strong suspicions of having been poisoned.”

No sooner had the inhabitants of Carcassone received the intelligence of the Earl's confinement, than they burst into tears, and were seized with such terror, that they thought of nothing, but how to escape the danger they were placed in; but blockaded as they were on all sides, and the trenches filled with men, all human probability of escape vanished from their eyes. A report, however, was circulated, that there was a vault or subterraneous passage somewhere in the city, which led to the castle of Ceberet, a distance of about three leagues from Carcassone, and that if the mouth or entry thereof could be found, providence had provided for them a way of escape. All the inhabitants of the city, except those who kept watch upon the rampires immediately commenced the search, and success rewarded their labour. The entrance of the cavern

was found, and at the beginning of the night they all began their journey through it, carrying with them only as much food as was deemed necessary to serve them for a few days. "It was a dismal and sorrowful sight," says their historian, "to witness their removal and departure, accompanied with sighs, tears and lamentations, at the thoughts of quitting their habitations and all their worldly possessions, and betaking themselves to the uncertain event of saving themselves by flight; parents leading their children, and the more robust supporting decrepit old persons; and especially to hear the affecting lamentations of the women." They, however, arrived the following day at the castle, from whence they dispersed themselves through different parts of the country, some proceeding to Arragon, some to Catalonia, others to Toulouse, and the cities belonging to their party, wherever God in his providence opened a door for their admission.

The awful silence which reigned in the solitary city excited no little surprise on the following day among the pilgrims. At first they suspected a stratagem to draw them into an ambuscade; but on mounting the walls and entering the town, they cried out, "the Albigenses are fled!" The legate issued a proclamation, that no person should seize or carry off any of the plunder—that it should all be carried to the great church of Carcassone, whence it was disposed of for the benefit of the pilgrims, and the proceeds distributed among them in rewards according to their deserts.*

The crusade against the Albigenses had hitherto been conducted by an ecclesiastic, the Abbé de Cîteaux; but having been prolonged beyond the period at first calculated upon, and the entire reduction of the heretics being found not quite so easy a task as was first expected, the supreme command was now vested in the hands of Simon, Earl of Montfort, a person of some military talents, but

* Perrin's History of the Albigenses, b. iii. ch. v.

of a fierce and ungovernable temper. He was appointed governor of the whole country, both of what had been already conquered, and what should be conquered in future. This nobleman, under the mask of piety and zeal for religion, gratified a cruel and covetous disposition. He plundered, assassinated and committed to the flames the poor Albigenes, without regard to character, sex, or age. Dazzled by his success, he set no bounds to his rapacious cruelty; and, encouraged by the papal legate, he insolently proposed that the Earl of Toulouse should absolutely surrender to him all his castles and territories as conquered by the Catholic army. Raymond refused, and appealed to Philip, king of France, his lord paramount. The haughty count, however, began to execute his threats, and laid siege to the castle of Minerba, (or Minerva,) a place strongly fortified by nature, in the territory of Narbonne, on the confines of Spain. "This place (said he) is of all others the most execrable, because no mass has been sung in it for thirty years"—a remark which gives us a striking idea of the number of the Waldenses; the very worship of popery, it seems, was expelled from the place. On the surrender of the castle, which was defended by Raymond, Earl of Termes, and compelled to capitulate for want of water, they exerted all their influence to induce him to recant his religion and turn Catholic; but finding him inflexible, they shut him up in a close prison, where he soon after died. They then seized his wife, sister, and virgin daughter, with other females of distinguished rank, all of whom they laboured to convert, both by flattery and frowns, by fair speeches and cruel threats; but finding that nothing could prevail upon them to recant, they made a large fire into which they were all thrown and consumed to ashes.

After the castle had been taken, the Earl of Montfort caused the Abbé de Vaux, a friar, to preach to the inhabitants, exhorting them to acknowledge the Pope and Church of Rome; but they interrupted him, exclaiming, "we will not renounce our religion; you labour to no pur-

pose, for neither life nor death, shall induce us to abandon our profession." On this the Earl and the legate commanded a hundred and eighty men and women to be committed to the flames ! These went, it is said, with cheerfulness, blessing God that he was pleased to confer on them the honour of dying for his sake ; at the same time warning the Earl of Montfort that he would one day pay dearly for his cruelties towards them. All who witnessed their courage and constancy were astonished.*

But I must not attempt to prosecute in minute detail, the history of this religious crusade, which was carried on against the Albigenses, during almost the whole of the first thirty years of this century, and with varied success ; for besides that it could administer to the reader little of either profitable instruction or edification, it would carry me far beyond the limits prescribed by my publication. The reader who has never had an opportunity of exploring the history of this period, can scarcely conceive the scenes of baseness, perfidy, barbarity, indecency, and hypocrisy, over which Pope Innocent III. presided. The bare reflection of three hundred thousand men, actuated by the motives of avarice and superstition, filling the country of the Albigenses with carnage and confusion, during a period of twenty years, is, in itself, sufficient to harrow up the soul ; but to go into any thing like a circumstantial detail of all the multifarious atrocities which belong to it, would only be to impose upon the reader an obligation to throw aside the book, from a regard to his own feelings. I must therefore be brief.

Having got possession of the castle of Minerva, Earl Montfort next laid siege to that of Preissan, or, as it is often called Termes, in the district of Narbonne, a place which seemed invincible to human force ; but the garrison being reduced to great distress for want of water, aban-

* Clarke's Martyrology, p. 110. Perrin's History of the Albigenses. p. ii. b. iii. ch. 7.

doned the place by night, and made good their retreat undiscovered by the enemy. The castle of La Vaur was next besieged, and after six months taken by assault, when all its brave defenders were put to the sword, except eighty gentlemen whom the Earl caused to be ignominiously hanged, and Lord Almeric on a gibbet higher than the rest. And with respect to the other inhabitants, it was put to their option whether they would conform to the church of Rome or perish by the flames. They almost without exception chose the latter, and about four hundred persons thus precipitated themselves into the flames, joyfully yielding up their spirits into the hand of God.*

The Count de Foix, who had been peculiarly interested in the defence of Preissan, was very favourably disposed towards the Albigenses, and consequently much disconcerted at the loss of the place. The Earl of Toulouse, also, began to be much alarmed at the successes of Montfort, and, apprehensive for his own safety and that of his subjects, roused many of the neighbouring barons, and collected a considerable force, which he brought to the assistance of the Count de Foix. Their union suddenly changed the aspect of affairs. Montfort was stripped of almost all his conquests, and a complete revolution was nearly effected; but in a general engagement, which took place in the valley of Theniere, they were defeated, and the courage of the party began again to droop.

Success raised the pride and demands of the inquisitors. Conditions were now prescribed, to which no man of spirit could agree—"That Earl Raymond should lay down his arms, without retaining one soldier or auxiliary; that he should not only submit absolutely and for ever to the church, but that he should repair and refund whatever losses the church might have sustained by the war—that in all his territories, no one should ever eat more than two kinds of flesh—that he should expel all heretics, and their

* Clarke's Martyrology, p. 111.

allies and abettors from his dominions—that within a year and a day he should deliver up to the Count de Montfort, every person whom he should name or require, to be punished or disposed of as the Count might think fit—that his subjects should never wear any jewels, nor fine clothes, nor caps, nor bonnets, of any other colour than black—that all his fortifications should be demolished—that no relative, or friend of his, should reside in any city, but in the country only—that no new tax should be levied by him, but that every head of a family in his territories should annually pay four deniers to the pope's legate—that the tiends should be paid over all his lands—that the papal legate should never be required to pay any toll, or other impost, while travelling through the country under his jurisdiction—that Raymond should associate himself with the knights of St. John, and go into voluntary exile as a crusader to the holy land, never to return without leave, and finally that he should not have his lands restored until he had complied with all these demands.”

In the year 1215, Pope Innocent III. convened the famous council of Lateran, at which Dominic was present, and many decrees against heretics enacted. To this council both the Earl of Toulouse and his son Raymond had recourse, and urged their plea against Montfort, who had usurped their dominions. The council, however, decreed, Earl Raymond to be for ever excluded from his dominions, which he had governed ill, and ordered him to remain in some convenient place out of his dominions, with a view to his giving suitable proofs of his repentance. Four hundred marks of silver were, nevertheless, assigned him annually out of his revenues, as long as he behaved himself with an humble obedience; but his possessions were adjudged to Montfort. Upon this decree, the Earl went into Spain, and his son into Provence, where they raised auxiliary forces, and were not only enabled to continue the war against Montfort, but actually recovered some part of the Earl's dominions, and even his capital, the city of Toulouse.

Whilst Montfort was endeavouring to retake it, he was struck by a stone, which instantly killed him, in the year 1218, and the city was delivered from the siege.

In the course of the war the castle of Minerva having surrendered to the Catholic army, the Abbé de Cisteaux, who, ever since the election of Montfort to its command, had continued the chief counsellor of the crusaders, hesitated for some time, how he should dispose of the garrison and inhabitants. "He sincerely desired the death of the enemies of Jesus Christ," says the author of the history of the Albigenses, "but being a priest and a monk, he could not agree to the slaughter of the citizens, if they would be converted. Robert Mauvoisin, a zealot in the army, dissatisfied with this appearance of humanity and condescension, insisted that they had come there, not to favour heretics, but to exterminate them. In this dilemma, the blood-thirsty monk was relieved from his embarrassment, by the higher tone, not the fiercer spirit, of a third person, who exclaimed, 'Fear not, probably not one of them will accept of the alternative!' The event proved the correctness of his judgment, for the piles being kindled, they generally precipitated themselves into the flames."*

Earl Raymond did not long enjoy the possession of his dominions, which he had reconquered, for he died in the year 1221, and was succeeded by his son, the young Raymond, who soon after banished the inquisition from the country of Toulouse. Pope Innocent III. also died about the same time, and was succeeded by Honorius III., who was no sooner elevated to power than he issued his denunciations against all heretics, and violators of the ecclesiastical immunity, in the following rescript, which was sent into France. "We excommunicate all heretics of both sexes, and of whatsoever sect, with their favourers, receivers, and defenders; and, moreover, all those who cause any edicts or customs, contrary to the liberty of the church, to

* Hist. Albigens. cap. 37. in Rankin's France, Vol. III. p. 214.

be observed, unless they remove them from their public records in two months after the publication of this sentence. Also we excommunicate the makers and the writers of those statutes, and moreover, all governors, consuls, rulers, and counsellors of places where such statutes and customs shall be published and kept, and all those who shall presume to pass judgment, or to publish such judgments, as shall be made according to them."

The conduct of the young Raymond had rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to the new pontiff, who took care to inform him, that unless he returned to his duty, he should be stripped of his dominions, as his father had been; and by letters, bearing date the 8th of November, 1221, he confirmed the sentence of the legate, by which he deprived him of all his right in every country that had ever been subject to his father; and that this sentence might want nothing of its full force, he commanded the Dominicans to proclaim a holy war against heretics, to be called the penance war. At the sound of this horrid trumpet, multitudes rushed to the standard, enrolling themselves in this holy society, as they presumptuously imagined it to be, wearing a black cloak over a white garment, and receiving the sacrament of the eucharist, for the defence of the Catholic faith.

The more effectually to subdue the Earl of Toulouse, the Pope transmitted his letters to Louis, king of France, exhorting him to take arms against the Albigenses, in the following extraordinary words. "*'Tis the command of God* who says, If thou shalt hear say in any one of thy cities which the Lord thy God hath given thee to dwell there, saying, let us go and serve other gods, which ye have not known, thou shalt smite the inhabitants of that city with the edge of the sword. Although you are under many obligations already to God, for the great benefits hitherto received from him, from whom comes every good and perfect gift, yet you ought to reckon yourself more especially obliged courageously to exert yourself for him against the

subverters of the faith, by whom he is blasphemed, and manfully to defend the catholic purity, which many in those parts, adhering to the doctrines of devils, are known to have cast off."

This profound logic was too irresistible to be withstood by Louis, who began to collect an army of crusaders, at the head of which he placed himself, and sat down before the city of Avignon. Raymond, at that time, held several cautionary lands of the king of England; and the Pope, suspecting that he might possibly apply for assistance to our English monarch to enable him to defend them, wrote to caution him not to take up arms against the French king, in these words, "Make no war, either by yourself, or your brother, or any other person, on the said king, so long as he is engaged in the affair of the faith and service of Jesus Christ, lest by your obstructing the matter, which God forbid you should do, the king with his prelates and barons of France, should be forced to turn their arms from the extirpation of heretics to their own defence. As for us, since we could not excuse such a conduct, an instance of great indevotion, we could not impart to you our paternal favour, which, under other circumstances, at all proper seasons, should never be wanting to you. And as we are not only ready to do you justice, but even to show you favour, as far as God enables us, we have taken care, that whatever becomes of heretics and their lands, your rights and those of other Catholics shall be safe."

The city of Avignon was defended by Earl Raymond with great bravery, and multitudes of the French army fell during the siege. For, besides those that were killed in the ordinary mode of warfare, the army was afflicted with a dysentery and other diseases, which carried off numbers, and among the rest the French monarch. The pope's legate, for some time, concealed the death of the king, lest the army should break up with disgrace from the siege of a single city, without being able to take it. Finding, however, that it was not to be conquered by force, the legate

had recourse to fraud; and even these measures for some time failed him. He then desired that he might be admitted into the city, in company with his prelates, under the pretence that he would examine into the faith of the inhabitants, and affirming with an oath that he put off the siege of the city for no other cause than the welfare of their souls. He added, that *the cry of their infidelity had ascended to the Pope*; and that he wished to inquire whether they had done altogether according to the cry that had come up before him. The too credulous citizens, not suspecting the fraud, and especially relying upon the sacredness of his oath, opened their gates, on which the soldiers of the French army, as had been previously determined, rushed violently into the city, seized the citizens, bound them in chains, plundered their houses, killed numbers of the inhabitants, and having thus, by treachery, got possession, they brake down the towers, and destroyed the walls of that noble city. Such is the narrative of the monk of St. Albans, Matthew Paris.

Avignon being thus taken, the crusaders next bent all their forces against Toulouse. This city, which was most gallantly defended, maintained a long siege, but it was at length taken, in 1221, and young Raymond compelled to submit to terms even more severe than those which were proposed to his father in the council of Arles. From this period the Albigenses declined greatly in France. For, being no longer permitted to find an asylum under any of the reigning princes, such of them as escaped the edge of the sword, and the vengeance of their adversaries, fled for refuge into the valleys of Piedmont and other places, dispersing themselves in every direction, as will be shown in the ensuing section, wherever they could enjoy quietness and the liberty of worshipping God agreeably to the exercise of a good conscience.

As to the ordinary manner of proceeding with such as fell into their hands captives of war, a single extract from Limborch's history may suffice to show. "A person of the

name of Robert," says he, quoting the Annals of Bzovius and of Raynaldus, 1207, &c., "who had been of the sect of the Albigenses, but afterwards joined the Dominicans, supported by the authority of the princes and magistrates, burnt all who persisted in their heresy. Within two months he caused fifty persons, without distinction of sex, either to be burnt or buried alive, whence he was called 'the Hammer of the Heretics.' In 1211 they took the city of Alby, and there put numbers to death. They took la Vaur by storm, and burnt in it multitudes of the Albigenses. They hanged Almeric, the governor of that city, who was of a very noble family; and beheaded eighty of the inferior rank, not sparing the females. They threw the sister of Almeric, who was the principal lady of the sect of the Albigenses, into a well, and covered her with stones. Afterwards they conquered Carcum, and put sixty men to death. They seized on Pulchra Vallis, a large city near Toulouse, committed four hundred Albigenses to the flames, and hanged fifty more." Thuanus, that impartial Catholic writer, in the History of his own Times, book vi., confirms this dreadful statement in its general results, and further adds, "that after the capture of La Vaur, the towns of Les Cures, Rabastains, Gaillac, St. Marcel, St. Anthonin, Caussac, and Moissac, were stormed, and a great massacre made of the townsmen by the conquerors. The castle of Perre in the Agenois having after a long siege capitulated, seventy of the soldiers were hanged, and the others who adhered to their errors were burnt alive. Nor was Paris itself exempt from this contagion, for fourteen persons, most of whom were priests (teachers among the Albigenses) being convicted of this error expired in the flames. In England they were handled with more mildness, if loss of life be the measure of punishment, but with more ignominy; the convicted persons being branded with a hot iron on their shoulders, or even on their foreheads."

But, independent of those that fell by the edge of the sword, or were committed to the flames by the soldiers and

magistrates, the inquisition was constantly at work, from the year 1206 to 1228, and produced the most dreadful havoc among the disciples of Christ. Of the effects occasioned by this infernal engine of cruelty and oppression, we may have some notion from this circumstance,—that in the last-mentioned year the archbishops of Aix, Arles, and Narbonne, found it necessary to intercede with the monks of the inquisition, to defer a little their work of imprisonment, until the Pope was apprised of the immense numbers apprehended—numbers so great, that it was impossible to defray the charge of their subsistence, or even to provide stone and mortar to build prisons for them. Their own language, indeed, is so remarkable, that it deserves to be laid before the reader, and here it is.

“It has come to our knowledge,” say they, “that you have apprehended so many of the Waldenses, that it is not only impossible to defray the charges of their subsistence, but also to provide stone and mortar to build prisons for them. We, therefore, advise you to defer for awhile augmenting their numbers, until the Pope be apprised of the great multitudes that have been apprehended, and until he notify what he pleases to have done in this case. Nor is there any reason you should *take offence* hereat; for as to those who are altogether impenitent and incorrigible, or concerning whom you may doubt of their relapse or escape, or that, being at large again, they would infect others, *you may condemn such without delay.*”*

Such is the representation given us by writers of unimpeachable veracity, of the merciless treatment which the Albigenses received from the Catholics at this period, purely on account of their religious profession.† Before I dis-

* Perrin’s Hist. des Vaudois, b. ii. ch. ii.

† In the council of Toulouse, held in the year 1229, a most severe and sanguinary inquisition was established against heretics. One of its canons is, ‘It shall not be permitted to laymen to have the books of the Old and New Testament; only they who out of devotion desire it, may have a Psalter, a Breviary, and the hours of the Virgin. But *we*

miss the subject, it may be proper to notice a difficulty which will strike the minds of reflecting readers. It has been intimated both by the friends and enemies of the Waldenses, that they had religious scruples against bearing arms, and even shedding the blood of animals unnecessarily. The question, therefore, naturally presents itself, "Were they at last driven to the necessity of taking up the sword in defence of their religion and lives?" Upon the lawfulness or unlawfulness of doing so, when pressed by dire necessity, I shall offer no opinion in this place. My business is to state facts as I find them; and, that the reader may not suspect me of a wish to misrepresent their principles and conduct in the instance referred to, I shall quote the words of Mr. Robinson, who had much better means of information than have fallen to my lot.

"The difficulty here is," says he, "how such people as bore no arms, and shed no blood, could be said to bring large armies into the field to defend their rights. The proper answer is—the pious were named from the provinces, the provinces and princes from the pious; for one common principle, that all mankind had a right to be free, brought together Goths and professors of the gospel. Both loved liberty—the latter paid for it by taxes, the fruits of their industry, and the former fought for it, and, by defending one, preserved both parties. The church of Rome having adopted clerical dominion as an article of orthodox belief, it followed of course, that resistance to that, was heresy both political and religious. Too many historians take up the affair in the gross, lay it down as they took it up, and gravely say, the Lord, by a course of miracles, assisted his

absolutely forbid them to have the above-mentioned books translated into the vulgar tongue." "This is the first time, (says the Abbe Fleury, in his Ecclesiastical History,) that I have met with this prohibition: but it may be favourably explained by observing that the minds of men being then much irritated, there was no other method of putting a stop to contentions, than by taking away from them the Holy Scriptures, of which the heretics made a bad use." A poor excuse indeed! says Dr. Jortin. *Remarks*, Vol. III. p. 311.

dear servants the Catholics to drown, stab, and burn, forty thousand heretics—because they (the Catholics) were afraid of their lives, in a society of people who had such an aversion to the taking away [even] of animal life, that they never killed a bird, from a sparrow to an eagle; or a quadruped, from a weasel to an elephant;* and who perpetually exclaimed against penal laws, and thought it wrong to take away the life of a man.”

A proper attention to this matter, may probably help us to solve many things in the writings of the Catholics themselves, which must otherwise prove extremely perplexing. Thus, for instance, several of their own writers describe the battle which proved so fatal to the cause of the Albigenses. “In the year 1213, the Christian army of eight hundred horse and one thousand foot, near Toulouse, being divided into three corps, in honour of the Holy Trinity, the first, under the command of Simon, Count of Montfort, the second commanded by the Lord Bishop of Toulouse, and the third by the Lord Bishop of Cominge, attacked the army of the heretics, consisting of a hundred thousand fighting men, and defeated them. The Catholics lost about a hundred men, but of the Albigenses, two and thirty thousand were either killed or drowned in the river Garonne.”† This they call the battle of Muret,‡ and they

* Mr. Robinson has here given the very words of the inquisitor Reinerius, who, describing the Waldenses, says, “Ita, est communis opinio Catharorum, quod graviter peccaret, quicumque occiderit avem aliquam a minima usque ad maximam; et quadrupedia, a mustela usque ad elephantem.” That is, “It is also a common opinion among the Puritans (*Cathari*) that man sins grievously who kills any bird, from the least to the greatest—or a quadruped, from a weasel to an elephant.”—*Contra Waldenses*, cap. vi.

† Voltaire’s remark upon this curious piece of Catholic history, may be thought by some not altogether impertinent. “Is it at all likely,” he asks, “that only eighteen hundred men would attack an army of a hundred thousand in the open field, and divide themselves into three bodies? • It is a miracle,” some writers will say, but military people, upon reading such a story, will tell them it is nonsense and absurdity.” *General History*, Vol. I. ch. I.

‡ A singular disclosure was made after this battle, and as the circum-

add, that after this victory many of the surviving heretics fled into the valleys of Piedmont, where their descendants resided, till two hundred years after, when Huss revived the same heresy in Bohemia, and Luther in Germany, about a hundred years after him. The explanation of all this miracle is, that the cities and towns that were attacked by the crusaders were peopled with mechanics, manufacturers, and husbandmen of the kind described by the inquisitors—an industrious and virtuous people, who took no oaths, objected to wars of every kind, and refused to shed the blood of a fellow-creature, even in defence of their own lives. Such appears plainly to have been the case with the Albigenses. The Count of Toulouse, and the barons and vassals that constituted his army, no doubt acted upon different maxims; for, had they followed out the principles of these Albigenses, they would have dissolved the whole feudal system; but they approved of the conduct of these people in dissenting from the communion of the church of Rome, admired the simplicity of their doctrine and worship, and, to the utmost of their power, protected them from the rage of their bigoted and sanguinary persecutors.

stance tends to throw a ray of light upon the *secret* history of these times, it deserves to be recorded. When the battle of Muret was over, there was found among the slain belonging to the Albigenses a knight in black armour. On examining, behold it was discovered to be Peter, king of Arragon—that very monarch, who had formerly been engaged in negotiating between the pope's legate and the Earl of Beziers. (See p. 116) There also lay one of his sons, and many of the Arragonian gentlemen and vassals, who, while ostensibly supporting the Roman church, had, in disguise, been fighting in defence of the Albigenses!!

SECTION VII.

Some account of the state of the Waldenses from the period of the suppression of their churches in France to the middle of the fourteenth century. A. D. 1230—1350.

WHILE the demon of persecution was raging with resistless fury against the Albigenses in the southern provinces of France, the inhabitants of the valleys of Piedmont appear to have enjoyed a large portion of external peace;—their churches had rest, and walking in the fear of the Lord and the comforts of the Holy Spirit, were edified and multiplied. The kind providence of God appeared in blessing them with a succession of mild and tolerant princes, in the Dukes of Savoy,* who continually receiving the most favourable reports of them, as a people simple in their manners, free from deceit and malice, upright in their dealings, loyal to their governors, and ever ready to yield them a cheerful obedience in every thing but the concerns of religion, turned a deaf ear to the repeated solicitations of priests and monks, and, from the beginning of the thirteenth century until the year 1487, a period of nearly three hundred years, peremptorily refused to disturb or molest them.

An effort was made to introduce the inquisition into Piedmont, but the proceedings in France had sufficiently opened the eyes of the inhabitants to the spirit and principles of that infernal court, and they wisely resisted its

* Mr. Robinson, referring to this subject, has the following pertinent remark. "It is a curious phenomenon in politics, that the family which allowed its subjects religious liberty, when all other princes oppressed conscience, should, in a country enthusiastically fond of liberty, become, in the end, the most absolute monarchs in the Christian world. Such is the king of Sardinia, who is also duke of Savoy, and to whose eldest son, the heir apparent, the title of the Prince of Piedmont is hereditary." *Eccles. Researches*, p. 459.

establishment among them. An inquisitor of the name of Peter of Verona, had been deputed by the Pope to carry the project into effect; but we are told by Ludovicus a Paramo, a Spanish writer of those times, that "the people made a *martyr* of him, either at Turin or Susa."* At Milan, also, the united power of pope Pious IV. and Philip II. of Spain, was found insufficient to introduce the inquisition; the mob rose at the bare proposal of it, and flew to arms, exclaiming it was a system of tyranny, and not of religion. Even the senate protested against it as inimical to trade, repugnant to the free constitution of the cities of Italy, and incompatible with the Milanese forms of law, on which grounds they opposed its introduction. Naples and Venice also successfully resisted the inquisitorial scheme; and, as the populace in almost every part of Italy formed insurrections against the inquisitors, evincing the most determined spirit of hostility against them, the states prudently availed themselves of this temper of mind, and pretended they were afraid of exasperating the people should they introduce the independent power of the holy office.

The scenes of slaughter and devastation which had been carried on against the Albigenes, in the southern provinces of France, for more than twenty years, during the former part of the thirteenth century, in which time it has been computed that a million of persons bearing that name were put to death,† had occasioned many of them to cross the Pyrenees and seek a shelter from the storm in the Spanish provinces of Arragon and Catalonia. Matthew Paris, in his History of the reign of Henry III., takes notice of this

* Limborch, on the authority of Pegna in Eymeric, says, "as he was going from Como to Milan, A. D. 1252, to extirpate heresy, a certain believer of heretics attacked him in his journey, and dispatched him with many wounds. He was canonized and worshipped as a martyr."

† Mede on the Apocalypse, p. 503. and Newton on the Prophecies, Vol. II. p. 257. 8th ed. 1789. Clarke in his Martyrology doubles the number!

circumstance, and informs us that in the year 1214, during the pontificate of Alexander IV., there were great numbers of Waldenses in these provinces, of which the Pope bitterly complained in one of his bulls, saying that they had permitted them to gain such a footing, and given them such time to increase and multiply, that the evil loudly called for a remedy. He further adds, that they had several churches duly set in order with their bishops and deacons, in which they publicly and boldly preached their doctrine. Hither the vigilance of the inquisitors traced their steps, and accordingly, in the year 1232, the inquisition was brought into Arragon. A further inducement, indeed, to this was, that the bishop of Huesca, a considerable city of Arragon, was reported to *err in matters of faith*, and in all probability had so much humanity in his composition as led him to connive at the residence of heretics in his diocese. The office of making inquisition against them, was committed, by Pope Gregory IX., to a friar of the order of predicants, named Peter Caderite; and James, the king of Arragon was magisterially enjoined not to permit him, or any of his assistants, to be molested in the discharge of the duties of the inquisition. A commission was at the same time given to the archbishop of Tarragona, the metropolitan city of Catalonia, and his suffragans, to constitute a court of inquisition there, also, against heretical pravity. The following is a copy of the bull which was issued for that purpose.

“Since the evening of the world is now declining, we admonish and beseech your brotherhood, and strictly command you by our written apostolic words, as you regard the divine judgment, that with diligent care you make inquiry against heretics, and render them infamous, by the assistance of the friars predicants, and others whom you shall judge fit for this business; and that you proceed against all who are culpable and infamous, according to our statutes lately published against heretics, unless they will from the heart absolutely obey the commands of the

church—which statutes we send you enclosed in our bull; and that ye also proceed against the receivers, abettors, and favourers of heretics, according to the same statutes. But if any will wholly abjure the heretical plague, and return to the ecclesiastical unity, grant them the benefit of absolution, according to the form of the church, and enjoin them the usual penance.”*

Soon after the establishment of the inquisition in Arragon a synod was convened at Tarragona, when many severe decrees were passed against heretics, and the holy office was erected there also; and for the space of a century and half, measures of the greatest rigour were incessantly carried on against the Waldenses in that quarter, before their entire extinction could be effected. The catholic writers themselves avow these facts, and acknowledge that they owed their ultimate success, in subduing the heretics in this quarter, to the superior talents and exertions of Nicholas Eymeric, a predicant monk, and author of the Directory of the Inquisitors, who was created inquisitor-general, about the year 1358, and died January 4th, 1393, having kept up the office of the inquisition against heretics forty-four years in succession.

The flight of Waldo from the South of France into Germany, and the success that attended him in preaching the gospel in the different cities which are situated on the banks of the Rhine, have been already noticed. We are informed that about the year 1213, Germany and Alsace were full of the Waldenses.† Two considerations may enable us to account for this. One is, the destructive war that was waged against the Albigenses in France, supported by the terror of the Inquisition, which would necessarily drive the disciples of Christ to seek security in other countries. The other is, that a violent quarrel arose about this time between the Pope and Frederic II., Emperor of Germany. This

* Bzovius, A. 1233. sect. 8, 9.

† Constans on the Revelation, in Perrin, b. ii. ch. xi.

latter prince, on his first ascension to the throne, had gone eagerly into all the measures of the court of Rome, and issued the most horrid and sanguinary edicts against the Waldenses, as has been shown in a former section.* But he had now, by some means, incurred the displeasure of Gregory IX., who, at the moment that Frederic was prosecuting a war against the Saracens in the east, excited the emperor's own son Henry, who had been elected king of the Romans, to rebel against his father, in consequence of which, the cities of Lombardy had revolted. The rebellion was, however, suppressed, the prince was confined, and Frederic triumphed—but his troubles were not ended. The Pope excommunicated him, and, to sow division between him and the princes of the empire, he (A. D. 1237) transmitted a bull into Germany, in which were the following words, referring to the emperor.

“A beast of blasphemy, abounding with names, is risen from the sea, with the feet of a bear, the face of a lion, and members of other different animals; which, like the proud, hath opened its mouth in blasphemy against the holy name; not even fearing to throw the arrows of calumny against the tabernacle of God, and the saints that dwell in heaven. This beast, desirous of breaking every thing in pieces with his iron teeth and nails, and of trampling all things under his feet, hath already prepared private battering rams against the wall of the Catholic faith; and now raises open machines, in erecting soul-destroying schools of Ishmaelites; rising, according to report, in opposition to Christ, the Redeemer of mankind, the table of whose covenant he attempts to abolish with the pen of wicked heresy. Be not, therefore, surprised at the malice of this blasphemous beast, if we, who are the servants of the Almighty, should be exposed to the arrows of his destruction. This king of plagues was even heard to say, that the whole world has been deceived by three impostors, Moses, Christ, and Ma-

* See ch. v. sect. v.

hommed ; but he makes Jesus far inferior to the other two. ‘They,’ says he, ‘supported their glory to the last, whereas Christ was ignominiously crucified.’” Frederic, on the other hand, drew up an apology to the princes of Germany, in which he terms Gregory, the GREAT DRAGON and ANTI-CHRIST, of whom it is written, “and another red horse arose from the sea, and he that sat upon him took peace from the earth.”*

In the year 1245 Pope Innocent IV. convened the famous council of Lyons, concerning which the following inscription is preserved in the Vatican Library at Rome. “The thirteenth general council, and the first of Lyons : Frederic II. is there declared an enemy to the church, and *deprived of the imperial diadem.*” To this council Frederic did not fail to send ambassadors to defend his cause, well knowing that he was there to be publicly accused. The Pope, who had set himself up as judge at the head of the council, acted also the part of his own advocate ; and after strenuously insisting on his right to the temporalities of Naples and Sicily, and to the patrimony of the Countess Matilda, he charged Frederic with having made a peace with the Mahometans—with having had Mahometan concubines—with not believing in Christ—and, in a word, with being a heretic.† The Emperor’s orators harangued in his defence with great spirit and resolution, and in their turn accused the Pope of having been guilty of usury and rapine. Ambassadors from England were also sent to attend at this council, and represent the grievances which their countrymen were groaning under from the enormous exactions of the court of Rome. They complained as loudly of the Pope as the Pope had done of the Emperor. “You draw,” said they, “by means of your Italian emissaries, above sixty thousand marks yearly out of the king-

* Russel’s *Modern Europe*, Vol. I. letter 32.

† Mons. Voltaire *drily* asks, “How could the Emperor be a *heretic* and an *infidel* at the same time ?” A very pertinent question certainly

dom of England; you have lately sent us a legate, who has given away all the church livings to Italians. He raises excessive taxes upon all the religious houses, and excommunicates every body that complains of his extortions. Let these grievances, therefore, be instantly redressed, for we will no longer endure them." The Pope blushed, and made no answer, but proceeded to pronounce sentence against the Emperor, by which he deprived him of his crown. While the pontiff was pronouncing the sentence, the fathers of the church held in their hands the lighted wax candles, which were immediately extinguished on the sentence being pronounced. As one party signed the decision, the other went out, giving vent to their groans.

The Emperor was himself at Turin during these transactions, and according to report, was greatly agitated on hearing of them. He, however, called for his strong box, which was brought him, and taking out of it the imperial crown, he added "This the Pope and his council have not been able to take from me, and before they strip me of it much blood shall be spilt." He then proceeded to write to all the princes of Europe, urging them to support him against the Pope. "I am not the first," says he, in his letters, "whom the clergy have treated so unworthily, and I shall not be the last. But you are the cause of it, by obeying these hypocrites, whose ambition, you are sensible, is carried beyond all bounds. How many infamous actions, shocking to modesty, might you not, if you were disposed to it, discover in the court of Rome? While they are abandoned to the vices of the age, and intoxicated with pleasure, the greatness of their riches stifles in their minds all sense of religion. It is, therefore, a work of charity to deprive them of these pernicious treasures which are their ruin, and it is your duty to assist me in so doing."

These extracts sufficiently show the state of deadly hatred that existed between the Pope and Emperor, and which produced a flame that raged, with more or less vio-

lence, throughout the empire, until the death of the latter in the year 1250. "It was dreadful," says a late writer, "to see the misery to which many thousands were reduced in Germany, by a new and illegal election of another Emperor, and by the violences committed in the revolted cities of Italy; in all which the Pope was the only one insensible to the operations of divine justice. In the midst of this confusion, (1254) the Almighty summoned him before his tribunal."* One beneficial result of this long-pending quarrel was, that it retarded the establishment of the inquisition in the different parts of the German empire, and consequently gave the Waldenses an opportunity of propagating their sentiments more extensively. The clergy, no doubt, were generally upon the alert in quest of heretics, and wherever they were discovered, means of one kind or other were not wanting to persecute them, and render their dispersion necessary to avoid its fury. But these things always turned out to the furtherance of the gospel, "because many learned preachers were thereby dispersed abroad to make known the purity of their religion to the world."†

But after the death of Frederic, the establishment of the Inquisition met with less obstruction. The affairs of Germany had been left by him in great disorder; Italy was without a prince, and the Milanese under the control of the Pope. "The latter," says Limborch, "now determined to extirpate all heresy, *which had greatly increased during the preceding war.*"‡

About the year 1330, the Waldenses were grievously harassed and oppressed, in several parts of Germany, by an inquisitor of the name of Echard, a Jacobin monk. The circumstance is related by Vignier, in his *Historical Library*, part the third, where he also records an anecdote of this Echard that is worth mentioning. After inflicting

* Walch's History of the Popes. † Perrin's History, b. ii. ch. ii.

‡ Limborch's Inquisition, ch. xv.

cruelties with great severity, and for a length of time, upon the Waldenses, he was at length induced to investigate the causes and reasons of their separation from the church of Rome. The force of truth ultimately prevailed over all his prejudices—his own conscience attested that many of the errors and corruptions, which they charged on that apostate church, really existed; and, finding himself unable to disprove the articles of their faith by the word of God, he confessed that truth had overcome him, gave glory to God, and entered into the communion of the Waldensian churches, which he had long been engaged in punishing and persecuting even to death. The news of his conversion was soon spread abroad, and reached the ears of the other inquisitors, whose indignation was roused by his apostacy. Emissaries were dispatched in pursuit of him, and he was at length apprehended and conveyed to Heidelberg, where he was committed to the flames. His dying testimony was a noble attestation to the principles and conduct of the Waldenses, for he went to the stake charging it upon the church of Rome as a monstrous and iniquitous proceeding, to put to death so many innocent persons, for no other crime but their steadfast adherence to the cause of Christ, in opposition to the delusions of Antichrist.*

The Waldenses, however, continued to increase throughout Germany, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Four hundred and forty-three were apprehended by the inquisitors in Saxony and Pomerania, in the year 1391, who confessed that their teachers came from Bohemia, and that they and their ancestors before them had been instructed in the principles they then held. In 1457, a great number of the Waldenses were discovered by the inquisitors in the diocess of Eistein in Germany, who were put to death, and who confessed that they had among them twelve barbes, or pastors, who laboured in the work of the ministry. In

* Vignier's *Bibliotheca Historialis*, part iii. Anno 1330, in Perrin's *History*, b. ii. ch. ii.

short, Trithemius relates it as an acknowledged fact, that in those days the Waldenses were so numerous, that in travelling from Cologne to Milan, the whole extent of Germany, they could lodge every night with persons of their own profession, and that it was a custom among them to affix certain private marks to their signs and gates, whereby they made themselves known to one another.*

In the year 1210, twenty-four persons of the sect of the Waldenses were seized in the city of Paris, some of whom were imprisoned, and others committed to the flames. In the year 1334, the monks of the Inquisition, who were deputed to search after the Waldenses, apprehended one hundred and fourteen of them at Paris, who were burnt alive, sustaining their torture with admirable fortitude. It is also related by the author of a work entitled "*The Sea of Histories*," that in the year 1378, the persecution against the Waldenses continuing, a vast number of them were burnt in the place de Grave, in Paris.† These sanguinary proceedings, however, it would seem, were far from eradicating the heresy. For, two years after this, viz. in 1380, we find Francis Borelli, an inquisitorial monk, armed with a bull of Pope Clement VII., undertaking the persecution of the Waldenses in the same quarter. In the space of thirteen years, he delivered into the hands of the civil magistrates of Grenoble a hundred and fifty persons to be burned as heretics. And in the valley of Fraissiniere, he apprehended eighty more, who were also committed to the flames.‡

About the year 1370, a colony of the Waldensian youths of Dauphiné sought a new settlement in Calabria,§ proba-

* Perrin's History, b. ii. ch. xi.

† Perrin, book ii. ch. xv.

‡ Milner's Church History, Vol. III. p. 496.

§ There is a passage in the writings of that eminent Catholic Historian, Thuanus, relating to the subject we are now upon, which deserves the reader's attention, as throwing considerable light upon the history of this dark period, and certainly no writer was more competent to give us information. "*Against the Waldenses*," says he,

bly hoping there to enjoy with less molestation their religious privileges. Finding the soil fertile, and the region thinly peopled, they applied to the proprietors of the lands, and stipulated for a settlement among them. The lords of the country cheerfully granted their request, gave them the kindest reception, agreed with them on equitable terms, and *let out* to them parcels of land for cultivation. By their superior industry, the new colonists speedily fertilized and enriched their respective districts; and by their probity, peaceable manners, and punctuality in the payment of their rents, they ingratiated themselves with their landlords and neighbours in general. The priests alone were dissatisfied. They found they did not act like others in religious matters; they contributed nothing to the support of the church by masses for the dead, or other popish innovations, and they were offended. In particular, they were chagrined at finding that certain foreign schoolmasters, who educated the children of these strangers, were highly respected and preferred to themselves—and that they received nothing from them except tythes, which were paid according to contract with their landlords. Concluding, therefore, that they must be heretics, they signified their intention to complain of them to the Pope. The gen-

“when exquisite punishments availed little, and the evil was exasperated by the remedy which had been unseasonably applied, and their number increased daily, complete armies were at length raised, and a war of no less weight than what our people had before waged against the Saracens, was determined against them. The result was that they were rather slain, put to flight, spoiled every where of their goods and possessions, and dispersed abroad, than convinced of their error and brought to repentance. So that they who at first had defended themselves by arms, fled into Provence, and the neighbouring Alps of the French territory, and found a shelter for their life and doctrine in those places. Part of them *withdrew into Calabria*, and continued there a long while, even to the pontificate of Pius IV. Many passed into Germany, and fixed their abode among the Bohemians, and in Poland and Livonia. *Others, turning to the west, obtained refuge in Britain.*” Thuani Præfatio ad Henricum IV. p. 7. Edit. Buckley. The reader will find nearly the whole of the interesting article from whence this extract is taken in the APPENDIX to this Volume.

try, however, resisted that. "They are just and honest," said they, "and have enriched all the country. Even ye priests have received important advantages from their industry. The tythes alone, which ye now receive, are so much greater than those which were formerly produced from these countries, that you are more than compensated for any losses you may sustain on other accounts. Perhaps the country from whence they came is not so devoted to the ceremonies of the Roman church; but as these people fear God, are generous to the poor, just and beneficent to all men, it is illiberal on your parts to force their consciences. Are they not a temperate, sober, discreet people, and peculiarly decent in their speech? Does any person ever hear them utter a blasphemous expression?"

This prudent counsel was not without its use. The priests, indeed, who felt, or imagined, their interests were undermined by these new settlers, murmured, and gave vent to their mortification in private. But the lords of the country had sufficient discernment to estimate the value of their new tenants; and they protected them from the indignation of the clergy. The consequence was, that the Calabrian Waldenses enjoyed security, and the benefits of toleration, until the year 1560, when they formed a union with the church of Geneva, of which Calvin was the pastor. Their history previous to that union is dreadful, on account of the scenes of papal persecution that ensued; but it belongs to a subsequent period, and we must not here enter upon it.

During the period that we are now treating of, the Netherlands (Flanders) exhibited many shocking scenes of slaughter of the Waldenses. It seems probable that when persecuted in France they retreated into that country, where also the intolerant zeal of inquisitors followed, and made dreadful havoc of them. Here they obtained a new appellation, viz. *Turilupins*, that is, the wolves of Turin. The explanation which their own friends give us of this term is, that being banished from the society of men, and

driven to dwell with the beasts of the forest, they, in reference to the place whence they originated, designated them Turlupins, or Turilupins. Our historian, Matthew Paris, informs us, in his *Life of Henry III.*, that one Robert Bougre, who had lived among the Waldenses, and professed their faith, apostatized from them, became a Dominican, and was appointed by the Pope inquisitor-general. 'This man, knowing their usual places of concealment, apprehended more than fifty of them, in the year 1236, and caused them all to be burned or buried alive. But of the extremes to which this miscreant carried his cruelty, a tolerable notion may be formed from the singular occurrence, that even the court of Rome complained of his abusing the power with which he had been intrusted. He was accused of perverting the authority of his office, of punishing the innocent with the guilty, and of committing various atrocities, in consequence of which he was deprived of his office of inquisitor, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment.*

We are told by Le Sieur de la Popeliniere, who wrote a *History of France*, that the religion of the Waldenses spread itself throughout all the countries of Europe, even into Poland and Lithuania; and that ever since the year 1100, they had been propagating their doctrine, which differed but little from that of the modern Protestants. He adds that, notwithstanding the vigorous efforts that have been resorted to, by different princes and powers, to suppress their doctrine, they had, even to his times, boldly and courageously maintained it. Vignier, before quoted, mentions, that when the Waldenses were driven from Picardy, through the violence of persecution, several of them retired into Poland. Hence we find, that in the year 1330, the inquisition followed them there, and that numbers of them were put to death. Matthias Illyrius, in his "*Catalogue of the Witnesses of the Truth*," says, he had

* Matthew Paris,—*Life of Henry III.* Perrin's Hist. b. ii. ch. xiii.

lying before him the forms of the inquisition made use of on that occasion.*

From these same writers, to whom may also be added the inquisitor, Reinerius Saccho, we learn, that the persecutions which took place in the south of France, during the former part of the thirteenth century, drove the Waldenses also into various other countries. "In 1229, they had spread themselves in great numbers throughout all Italy. They had ten schools in Valcamonica alone, which were supported by pecuniary contributions in all their societies, and which contributions were transmitted into Lombardy." Reinerius adds, that about the year 1250, the Waldenses had churches in Albania, Lombardy, Milan, in Romagna, Vincenza, Florence, and Val Spoletine; and, in the year 1280, there were a considerable number of Waldenses in Sicily. In all these places the sanguinary edicts of the Emperor Frederic II. were continually suspended, like the sword of Damocles, over their heads. To these, also, were now added the rage of inquisitors and of papal constitutions, through which they were continually exposed to suffering and misery. In Sicily in particular, the imperial fury raged against them—they were ordered to be treated with the greatest severity, that they might be banished, not only from the country, but from the earth. And throughout Italy, both Gregory IX. and Honorius IV. harassed and oppressed them with the most unrelenting barbarity, by means of the inquisition—the living were, without mercy, committed to the hands of the executioner, their houses razed to the ground, their goods confiscated, and even the slumbering remains of the dead were dragged from their graves, and their bones committed to the flames.†

We are further informed by Reinerius Saccho, that in his time, the Waldenses had their churches at Constantinople and Philadelphia, in Sciaevonia, Bulgaria, and Diagonitia. Vignier reports, that after the persecution of Picardy,

* Perrin's History, b. ii. ch. xiv. and Limborch, ch. xvi.

† Perrin's History, b. ii. ch. xvi.

they dispersed themselves into Livonia and Sarmatia. And, it is added by Matthew Paris, that they had spread themselves as far as Croatia and Dalmatia, where their profession prevailed to that degree, that they had won over several (Catholic) bishops to their party.

It is pleasing to find, that while the Waldenses were thus carrying the light of the gospel of Christ throughout the whole continent of Europe, a gleam of its celestial brightness burst upon our own country, and, in some small degree, served to irradiate the gloom in which it was enveloped. In a former section, we have noticed the emigration of thirty of the Waldenses into England, who were cruelly persecuted and destroyed at Oxford in the year 1166. John Bale, in his *Chronicle of London*, mentions a person who was burnt at London, in 1210, whose only crime was, that he was tainted with the faith of the Waldenses. But the wars that were carried on against the Albigenses in the south of France, about this time, contributed very much to the propagation of the principles of the Waldenses in this country, as, indeed, appears from the testimony of Thuanus, lately adduced. For, independently of the contiguity of the two countries, there were circumstances of a political nature that tended very much to keep up the intercourse between them. Guienne was at that time in the possession of the English—to which may be added, that Raymond, Earl of Toulouse, the great patron and protector of the Albigenses, was brother-in-law to the king of England; in consequence of which alliance, our countrymen were frequently employed in assisting the subjects of Raymond in their wars. That the doctrines of the Waldenses had begun to spread themselves here about the close of the thirteenth century, is sufficiently obvious from a fact noticed by Archbishop Usher, viz. that in the reign of Henry III. “the orders of the Friars Minorites came into England to suppress the Waldensian heresy.”*

* See Ivimey’s *History of the English Baptists*, Vol. I. p. 59.

The most remarkable character that appears in the annals of English ecclesiastical history during this period, was Robert Greathead,* bishop of Lincoln. He was born about the year 1175, at Stradbrook, in the county of Suffolk, and appears to have been a person of obscure parentage. His studies, however, were prosecuted at the University of Oxford, where he acquired an intimate acquaintance with the Greek and Hebrew languages; after which he went to Paris, at that time the first seminary in Europe, where he became a perfect master of the French language. Returning to his native country, he was, in the year 1235, elected, by the dean and chapter, bishop of Lincoln, and king Henry III. ratified the choice. He seems to have possessed, even from his youth, much seriousness of mind; and though, at that period of life, immersed in the darkness and superstitions of the age, he was no sooner inducted to his office than he began to reform abuses. He convened the clergy of his diocese at stated times, to whom he preached, and urged them to the duties which devolved upon them from their office. But as the latter had no ear to give to these things, the bishop soon began to be involved in litigations with the monks and other popish agents. In the year 1247, two persons of the Franciscan order were sent into England to extort money for the Pope. They applied to the prelates and abbots, but, as it would seem, not with all the success that was wished. Greathead was amazed at the pomp and insolence of these friars, who demanded six thousand marks as the contribution of the diocese of Lincoln, at the same time giving him to understand that they were vested with the Pope's bull, "Friars," said he, "with all reverence to his holiness be it spoken,

* So his name is written by Bishop Newton, *Proph.* Vol. II. Bishop Hurd calls him Grostête, *Introd. to Proph.* Vol. II. Milner and others call him Grosseteste. The reason of this variation probably is, that he was either of French extraction, or assumed this latter name after his residence in France; for the name of *Greathead* in English, and *Grosseteste* in French are synonymous.

the demand is as dishonourable as it is impracticable. The whole body of the clergy and people are concerned in it equally with myself. To give a definite answer, in an instant, to such a demand, before the sense of the kingdom is taken upon it, would on my part be rash and absurd."

Circumstances of this kind, in process of time, began to open the eyes of the bishop to the domineering influence of the court of Rome. Another thing which struck his mind forcibly was, that in going through his diocese, he found the Pope had, by means of his letters, introduced into all the churches, where opulent benefices were to be enjoyed, a set of lazy Italians, who neither undertood the language of the country, nor possessed either ability or inclination to instruct the people. These enormities became the objects of his detestation. When the papal bulls, intended to introduce some new evil, were put into his hands, he would indignantly cast them from him, and absolutely refuse compliance with them, saying, that he should prove himself the friend of Satan, were he to commit the care of souls to foreigners. Pope Innocent, however, persevering in the same line of conduct, magisterially ordered him to admit an Italian, totally ignorant of the English language, to a very rich benefice in the diocese of Lincoln; and the bishop refusing to comply, the former suspended him from his functions. But Greathead treated the papal mandate with contempt, and continued to discharge his episcopal duties.

In the year 1253, the Pope was desirous of preferring his own nephew, an Italian youth, to a rich benefice in the cathedral of Lincoln; and, for this purpose, he, by letter, enjoined the bishop to give him the first canonry that should be vacant. This was to be done by *provision*, for that was the term employed by the pontiff when he undertook to provide beforehand a successor to a benefice; and on this occasion he seems to have been determined to intimidate the bishop into compliance. He declared that any other disposal of the canonry should be null and void, and

that he would excommunicate every one that should dare to disobey his injunction. But Greathead, resolving not to comply, wrote a letter on this occasion which reflects the highest honour on his memory. “Next to the sin of Antichrist,” says he, “which shall be in the latter times, nothing can be more contrary to the doctrine of Christ, than to destroy men’s souls, by defrauding them of the benefit of the pastoral office. Those who minister to their own carnal lusts, by means of the milk and wool of the sheep of Christ, and do not strive to promote the salvation of the flock, in the pastoral office, are guilty of destroying the souls of men. Two atrocious evils are in this way committed—they sin against God himself, who is essentially good, and also against the image of God in man, which, by the reception of his grace, becomes partaker of the divine nature. For the holy apostolic see to be accessary to such wickedness, would be a monstrous abuse of power, and argue an entire separation from the glorious kingdom of Christ, and a participation with the two powers of darkness, (meaning probably the devil and Antichrist.) No man can obey such mandates with a good conscience, even though they were seconded by the high order of angels themselves;—on the contrary, every faithful Christian ought to oppose them with all his might.”

When this epistle reached the hands of the Pope, it roused his indignation to the highest pitch. “Who,” said he, “is this old dotard, that dares to judge my actions? By Peter and Paul, if I were not restrained by my generosity, I would make him an example and a spectacle to all mankind. Is not the King of England my vassal and my slave; and if I gave the word, would he not throw him into prison and load him with disgrace?” The cardinals, however, who saw the danger into which the pontiff was about to plunge himself by his rashness, strove to moderate his resentment. One Giles, a Spanish cardinal, in particular, thus addressed him. “It is not expedient for you to proceed against the bishop in that violent manner; for,

what he says is certainly true, nor can we with decency condemn him. He is a holy man—much more so than we ourselves are—a man of admirable genius, and of the most exemplary morals—no prelate in Christendom is thought to excel him. It is probable, that by this time the truths expressed in his letter are known to many, and they will excite many against us. The clergy, both in France and England, know the character of the man, nor is it possible to fix any stigma upon him. He is understood to be a great philosopher, an accomplished scholar in Latin and Greek literature, zealous in the administration of justice, a theological lecturer in the schools, a popular preacher, a friend to chastity, and the enemy of simony.” In these sentiments Giles was seconded by others, and the whole conclave of cardinals advised the Pope to wink at these transactions, lest a tumult should arise in the church; for, said they, “it is an evident truth that a revolt from the church of Rome, will one day take place in Christendom.” But the rage of Innocent IV. was not to be allayed; he excommunicated the bishop of Lincoln, and appointed Albert, one of his nuncios, to succeed him. Greathead, supported by a conviction of the rectitude of his conduct, referred his appeal to the tribunal of Christ, and paid no regard to the decree; and what the cardinals foresaw, was realized in the event—the Pope’s mandate was universally neglected, and the bishop remained in quiet possession of his dignity.

But this venerable prelate was now fast advancing towards the end of his labours, and in the year 1253, he died (Oct. 9th) at his palace at Buckden. When the Pope heard of his death, he exultingly exclaimed, “I rejoice, and let every true son of the church of Rome rejoice with me, that my great enemy is removed.” He ordered a letter to be written to the King of England, requiring him to cause the bishop’s body to be taken up, cast out of the church, and burned. The cardinals, however, resisted his project; and the letter, though written, was never sent, owing, pro-

bably, to the declining state of the pontiff's health, for he died in the following year.

Matthew Paris, the monk of Saint Albans, though superstitiously attached to the See of Rome, and not a little prejudiced against the Bishop of Lincoln, on account of the severity with which he treated the monastic orders, has furnished a character of Greathead so honourable, that it deserves to be recorded.

"The holy bishop Robert," says he, "departed this world, which he never loved, and which was always to him as a place of banishment. He was the open reprover of my lord the Pope, and of the king, as well as of the prelates. He was the corrector of monks, the director of priests, the instructor of the clergy, the patron of scholars, a preacher to the laity, the punisher of incontinence, the diligent investigator of various writings, and the scourge of lazy and selfish Romans, whom he heartily despised. In regard to temporal concerns, he was liberal, copious, polite, cheerful, and affable—in spiritual things he was devout, humble, and contrite—in the execution of his episcopal office he was diligent, venerable, and indefatigable."*

Greathead's doctrinal sentiments, considering the darkness of the age in which his lot was cast, appear to have been remarkable for their purity and simplicity. The following is his view of the important article of *DIVINE GRACE*.

"Grace," says he, "is that good pleasure of God, whereby he is pleased to bestow upon us what we have not deserved, and the gift is for our advantage and not his. Hence it is very clear, that all the good we possess, whether it be natural, or freely conferred afterwards, proceeds from the grace of God; because there is no good thing, the existence of which he does not will; and for God to will any thing is to do it; therefore there can be no good of which he is not the author. He turns the human will from evil,

* Matthew Paris, p. 876. See also Pegge's *Life of Greathead*.

and converts it to good, causing it to persevere in the same."

Several of his manuscript sermons, it seems, are still extant in the cathedral church of York. One of them is founded upon Luke vi. 20. *Blessed are ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of heaven.* In discussing the subject, he undertakes to describe the poverty recommended in the text ; which, by comparing the words with the parallel place in Matt. v. 3. he finds to be *poverty of spirit.* This poverty, he tells us, is wrought in the heart of the elect, by the Holy Spirit—its foundation is laid in real humility ; which disposes a man to feel that he has nothing but what he has received from above. But that is not all—for, as he observes, humility in this view belonged to Adam before he fell—the humility of a *sinner* hath a still deeper root. The humble man not only sees that he has nothing in himself, but he is stripped of all desire to possess in himself the springs of self-exaltation. Self-condemned and corrupt before God, he despairs of help from his own powers, and finds all he wants in HIM, who is the true life, wisdom, and health, and indeed his all in all, even the incarnate Son of God, who condescended to come into our vale of sin and misery, that he might raise us from their depths. By leaning on him alone, every true Christian rises into true life, and peace, and joy. He lives in *his* life—sees light in *his* light—is invigorated with *his* warmth—grows in *his* strength—and leaning upon the Beloved, his soul ascends upwards. The lower he sinks in humility, the higher he rises towards God. He is sensible that he not only is nothing in himself, but that he also has lost what he had gratuitously received, has precipitated himself into misery, and so subjected himself to the slavery of the devil ; and lastly, that he has no internal resources for recovery. Thus he is induced to place his whole dependance on the Lord Jesus Christ, to abhor himself, and always to prefer others as better than himself. This leads him "to take the lowest seat," as his own proper place.

He then calls upon the man who professes to be the subject of humility, earnestly to examine himself, how far he demonstrates in his temper and conduct, this fruit of the Spirit; and even should he find some evidences of it in his soul, to beware that he be not inflated with the discovery, because he ought to know that it is only of God that he is what he is—and that he ought no more to boast of himself, than the refulgent colours of the prism should glory in that splendour which they derive wholly from the solar rays. He observes, that the temptations to self-complacency are the effect of satanic injections—and that it behooves him who would not be deceiving himself, to see whether he has the genuine marks of humility in his practice—whether, for instance, he can bear to be rebuked by an inferior—whether he is not rendered insolent by honours—whether he is not inflated by praise—whether among equals he is the first to labour, and the last to exalt himself—whether he can recompense blessings for curses, and good for evil. By such methods of self-examination he is to check the ebullitions of vainglory, with which the tempter is apt to inspire those who seem to have made some proficiency in the divine life. If that proficiency be real, let them take care never to conceive of it as something separate from Christ. HE alone, dwelling in them by his Spirit, produces all that is good, and to Him alone the praise belongs.

SECTION VIII.

A glance at the state of Religion in England and Bohemia, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with sketches of the history of Wickliff, the Lollards, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague; including a concise account of the "Unitas Fratrum," or United Bohemian Brethren, till the times of Luther.

AN attentive reader of the preceding pages will have observed, that when the governments of France and Spain lent their aid to second the views of the court of Rome, in expelling the Waldenses and Albigenses from their respective countries; the persecuted followers of Jesus Christ found an asylum in Bohemia, where their principles took deep root, and their numbers multiplied exceedingly.* As it is intended in this section to notice a little more particularly the progress of these principles, both in that kingdom and in our own country, at this interesting period, I must trespass upon the reader's patience by laying before him a short extract from the impartial Thuanus, which, while it serves to refresh his memory by a recapitulation of what has already been related, will also furnish an introduction to what is to follow.

"PETER WALDO, a rich citizen of Lyons, about the year of Christ 1170, gave name to the Vaudois or Waldenses. This man (as has been recorded by Guy de Perpignan, bishop of Elna, who exercised the office of inquisitor against the Waldenses) leaving his house and estate, had entirely devoted himself to the profession of the Gospel, and had procured the writings of the Prophets and Apostles to be translated into the language of the country, together with several testimonies from the primitive fathers; all which having well fixed in his mind, and trusting to his

* See page 11, 28, and 29 of this Vol. and the Note from Thuanus, page 143.

natural parts, he took up the office of preaching, and interpreted the Gospel to the common people in the streets. And when, in a short time, he had got about him a good number of followers, he sent them out into all parts, as disciples, to propagate the Gospel. They, as being generally unlearned, having easily fallen into various errors, were cited by the Archbishop of Lyons; and though they were, as he reports, convicted, yet they fortified themselves with mere obstinacy, saying, that in religious affairs, God, and not man, was to be obeyed. Being for this cut off from the church, and appealing to the Pope, they were, in the council immediately preceding that of Lateran, condemned as altogether pertinacious and schismatical: from whence, becoming hated and execrated by all men, they wandered about without a home, and spread themselves up and down in Languedoc, Lombardy, and especially amongst the Alps, where they lay concealed and secure for many years. They were charged with these tenets—that the church of Rome, because it renounced the true faith of Christ, was the whore of Babylon, and that barren tree which Christ himself cursed, and commanded to be plucked up—that, consequently, no obedience was to be paid to the Pope, or to the bishops, who maintain her errors—that a monastic life was the sink and dungeon of the church; the vows of which were vain, and served only to promote the vile love of boys—that the orders of the priesthood were marks of the great beast mentioned in the Revelation—that the fire of purgatory, the solemn mass, the consecration-days of churches, the worship of saints, and propitiations for the dead, were the devices of Satan. Besides these principal and authentic heads of their doctrine, others were pretended, relating to marriage, the resurrection, the state of the soul after death, and to meats. Peter Waldo, therefore, their leader, quitting his country, came into the Netherlands, and having gained many followers in that province, which is now called Picardy, he removed from thence into Germany; and after a long abode amongst the

Vandal cities, settled at last in Bohemia, where, even at this day, the professors of that doctrine are from thence called Picards. Waldo had a companion named Arnold, who by a different route fell into Languedoc, and fixed himself at Alby, formerly called Alba of the Helvians, from whence came the Albigenses, who in a little time spread themselves amongst the people of Toulouse, Roüergue, Le Quercy, and Agen. Arnold was succeeded by Esperon and Joseph, and from these Gregory IX. denominated them Arnoldists, Esperonites, and Josephists, and also Gazars, as all heretics at this day are called throughout Germany and the northern countries; which name is supposed to be taken from the emperor Leo III., named Gazar, whom the Roman pontiffs accused beyond all other men of sacrilege and erroneous principles; though in other books they are styled the Pure, (Puritans,) which name is also given to such as pretend to a purer doctrine in England. The same people are also called Leonines, from that Leo, who is nevertheless represented as a just and prudent prince, by Zonaras himself, who yet charges him with heretical pravity. He, at the persuasion of Theodotus a monk, had removed out of the churches all pictures and statues, which he considered as the fuel of impiety, and as traps to catch the ignorant multitude, by which God was offended; for which reason he was called the enemy of images. Though others imagine them to be rather called Leonines from one Leo, a Frenchman of that sect, because Leo the emperor was too far distant from those times and places. Thus, however, they were nicknamed, either from their authors or favourers. From the place they were also styled Poor Men of Lyons, Albigenses, and in different quarters, for different causes, Tramontanes, Paterines, Lollards, Tur-lupins, and lastly, Chaignards. As they carried divers faces, though their tails were tied together, (as Pope Gregory IX. expresses it, because they inveighed too vehemently against the wealth, pride, and vices of the Popes. and alienated the people by degrees from their obedience

to them,) Innocent III. used at first the spiritual sword against them, sending to the Albigenses twelve abbots of the Cistercian order, and after them Diego, bishop of Oxford, who carried with him that Dominic who afterwards founded the Dominican order. But when he found little success that way, laying aside the spiritual sword he drew the iron one, and made Leopold the Sixth, Duke of Austria, for Germany, and Simon of Montfort, for France, commanders in the holy war, to whom many others joined themselves. Though from that time they were persecuted from place to place, yet at intervals there appeared some who frequently revived their doctrine; as John Wickliff in England, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, in Bohemia. And in our age, since the general reception of Luther's doctrine, their scattered remains began to reunite, and with the increase of Luther's name to gather strength and authority, especially in the regions of the Alps and the adjacent provinces."*

The usurpations of the court of Rome had reached their highest pitch about the thirteenth or fourteenth century. That astonishing system of spiritual tyranny had drawn within its vortex almost the whole government of England. The pope's haughty legate, spurning at all law and equity, made even the ministers of justice to tremble at his tribunal; parliaments were overawed and sovereigns obliged to temporize, while the lawless ecclesiastic, entrenched behind the authority of councils and decrees, set at nought the civil power, and opened an asylum to any, even the most profligate, disturbers of society. In the mean-time the taxes collected, under various pretexts, by the agents of the See of Rome, amounted to five times as much as the taxes paid to the king!

The insatiable avarice, and insupportable tyranny, of the court of Rome, had given such universal disgust, that a bold attack made about this time on the authority of that

* Thuanus's *History of his own Times*, b. vi.

court, and doctrines of that church, was, at first, more successful than could have been expected, in that dark superstitious age. This attack was made by the famous John Wickliff, who was one of the best and most learned men of the age in which he flourished. His reputation for learning, piety, and virtue was so great, that Archbishop Islep appointed him the first warden of Canterbury college, Oxford, in 1365. His lectures in divinity which he read in that university were much admired, though in these lectures he treated the clergy, and particularly the mendicant friars, with no little freedom and severity. A discourse which he published against the Pope's demand of homage and tribute from Edward III., for the kingdom of England, recommended him so much to that prince, that he bestowed upon him several benefices, and employed him in several embassies. In one of these embassies to the court of Rome, in 1374, he discovered so many of the corruptions of that court, and of the errors of that church, that he became more bold and more severe in his censures of those errors and corruptions. He even proceeded so far, as to call the Pope Antichrist, to deny his supremacy, and to expose his intolerable tyranny and extortions in the strongest colours. This, as might naturally have been expected, drew upon him the indignation of his holiness, and involved him in various troubles. Pope Gregory XI. published several thundering bulls against him, in 1377, commanding him to be seized, imprisoned, and brought to trial, for his damnable heresies. The affection of the people, and the favour of the court, protected him from imprisonment; but he found it necessary to appear before Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, and William Courtney, bishop of London, who had been appointed his judges by the Pope. At this appearance he had the honour to be accompanied by two of the greatest men in the kingdom, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, and Lord Henry Percy, marshal of England. These two lords demanded a chair for Wickliff; which being denied by the bishop of London,

some very angry words passed between that prelate and the Duke of Lancaster; which excited so violent a tumult in the court, that it broke up in great confusion, without doing any business. Wickliff made a second appearance before the papal commissioners at Lambeth, where he was attended by so great a body of the citizens of London, that his judges were deterred from pronouncing any sentence against him; and their commission soon after terminated by the death of the Pope, March 27, 1378.

It is very difficult to discover, with certainty and precision, what were the real sentiments, in some particulars, of this illustrious champion of truth and liberty, against the errors and tyranny of the church of Rome; because he seems in some things, to have changed his mind; and because certain tenets were imputed to him by his adversaries which he did not hold. It very plainly appears from his writings, that the doctrines which he taught were very nearly the same with those which were propagated by our more successful reformers in the sixteenth century.

The prosecution against Wickliff was suspended for some time, by the schism in the papacy which succeeded the death of Gregory XI., and by the insurrection of the Commons in England, which threw all things into confusion. In this tumult, Archbishop Sudbury, one of his most zealous adversaries, was beheaded by the insurgents on Tower-hill, June 14, 1381. William Courtney, bishop of London, was promoted to the primacy by a bull of Pope Urban VI. (who had been acknowledged in England to be the lawful Pope,) dated the 8th of September in the same year. As soon as the insurrection of the Commons was quelled, and the public tranquillity restored, the new primate applied with great zeal to the suppression of the heretical opinions, as he esteemed them, which were propagated by Wickliff and his followers. With this view, he assembled a council of the bishops of his province, and many doctors of divinity, and of the civil and canon law, in the priory of the preaching friars, London, May 17, 1382. Before

this council he laid twenty-four opinions, extracted from the writings of Wickliff, for their examination; and the council unanimously declared ten of these opinions heretical, and fourteen of them erroneous. Several suspected persons were then brought before the council, particularly Nicholas Hereford and Philip Rapyngdon, doctors in divinity, and John Ayshton, A. M., and commanded to declare their sentiments of these opinions. Their declarations appearing to the council evasive and unsatisfactory, they were pronounced to be convicted of heresy. The ancient historian Henry Knyghton relates, that Wickliff was brought before this council, and that he made a kind of recantation of his heretical opinions. But as nothing of this appears in the record, it is probably a mistake if not a calumny. On the day after the conclusion of this council, there was a solemn procession in London; after which Dr. Kinygham, a Carmelite friar, preached to the people, and published the doctrines which had been condemned; declaring, that all persons who taught, favoured, or believed any of these doctrines, were excommunicated heretics. To give the greater weight to the decrees of this council, the clergy prevailed upon the king to publish a proclamation, July 12, authorizing and commanding the bishops to seize and imprison all persons who were suspected of holding any of the doctrines which had been condemned.

The doctrines of Wickliff had for some years made a mighty noise in the University of Oxford, where they were first published, and where they had many violent opposers, and many zealous advocates. Dr. Berton, who was chancellor of the university in 1381, and Dr. Stokes, were at the head of the former, and Dr. Hereford and Dr. Rapyngdon at the head of the latter. The Archbishop of Canterbury sent the decrees of his late council to Oxford, commanding Dr. Stokes to publish them at St. Frideswyde's church, on Corpus-Christi day; and Dr. Rigge, the chancellor of the university, to assist and protect him in performing that office. Dr. Philip Rapyngdon had been appointed to

preach at that church on that day, and he declaimed with great vehemence against the corruptions of the church, and in defence of the doctrines of Wickliff; and his sermon was heard with approbation. But when Dr. Stokes attempted to publish the decrees of the council of London, he was interrupted with clamours and reproaches; which obliged him to desist, without having received any countenance or protection from the chancellor or proctors, who were secret favourers of the new opinions. For this negligence they were summoned to appear before Archbishop Courtney, who treated them very roughly, and by threats prevailed upon them to return to Oxford, and to publish the decrees of the council of London, both in Latin and English, first in St. Mary's church, and afterwards in the schools.

While the doctrines of Wickliff were propagated and opposed with so much zeal, at Oxford and other places, he (being in a declining state of health) resided, during the two last years of his life, at his living of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire, employed in finishing his translation of the Bible, and other works. Being seized with a stroke of the palsy, which deprived him of his speech, December 28, 1384, he expired on the last day of that year.* As the

* It appears that before the death of Wickliff, his principles had extended into Bohemia, and that John Huss had begun to sow the seeds of reform in that country also. The following letter written by our great English reformer, in the last year of his life, is too valuable to be omitted.

LETTER FROM WICKLIFF TO HUSS.

Health and Salvation; and if any thing can be devised or expressed more loving and dear in the bowels of Jesus Christ.

“Dear brethren in the Lord, whom I love in the truth, and not I only, but all those who know the truth; I say that the truth, which dwelleth in us by the Grace of God, shall be with us for ever. I rejoiced greatly at the brethren, coming to us from you, bearing testimony of you in the truth, and that ye walk in truth. I have heard Antichrist who troubleth you, causing many and various tribulations to the faithful in Christ. And no wonder that such things should be

clergy had hated and persecuted him with great violence during his life, they exulted with indecent joy at his disease

done among you, since the law of Christ suffereth oppression from its adversaries over all the world; and from that *red dragon* with many heads, which John speaks of in the Revelations, that cast out of his mouth water as a flood after the woman, that she might be carried away of it. But the Lord, who is faithful, will certainly rescue his dearly beloved spouse. Let us be strengthened and comforted in the Lord our God, and in his infinite goodness, and be firmly persuaded that he will not permit his beloved to fail of his proposed rewards for them, if we only love him (as we ought) with our whole heart. For adversity shall not prevail over us, if iniquity do not prevail. Therefore let no affliction, pressure, or torment, for the sake of Christ, cast us down, or cause us to despair; since we know, that whomsoever the Lord accounteth as sons, he chasteneth. For the Father of Mercy exerciseth us in adversity in this present life, that he may afterwards spare us; as that gold which a skilful workman chooseth is tried in the fire by him, that afterwards he may put it into his pure, eternal, treasure. We know that this present life is but short and transitory: but that life which we expect, and which is to come, is happy and eternal. Let us labour, while we have time, that we may be found worthy to enter into that rest. Let me entreat you to consider, that we see nothing else in this life, but grief, anguish, and sorrow; and, what ought to trouble the faithful most of all, a contempt and trampling down of the divine laws. Let us endeavour as much as lies in our power, to lay hold of those good things, which shall always endure, and be eternal; denying our transient and frail senses. Let us look back upon and consider the behaviour of our ancestors in former ages. Let us call to mind the saints of both the Old and New Testament; how they bore tossings, tempests, and adversities, in this sea of trouble, —imprisonments, and bonds. They were stoned; they were sawn asunder; they were slain by the sword. They wandered about in sheep and in goat skins, and other such like things; as the epistle to the Hebrews recounteth at large; all walking in, and following the footsteps of Christ, in that narrow path, who said, ‘Where I am, there shall my servant be also.’ Since we have such a cloud of witnesses of the saints in former times placed before us, let us lay aside every offence and weight, yea sin, which besets us, and run with patience the race that is set before us; looking to Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith; who cheerfully endured the cross, despising all contempt and shame. Let us consider how he bore such contradiction against himself from sinners, and let us not be weary with desponding minds: but let us beg assistance from the Lord, with all our heart, and fight manfully against his adversary, Antichrist. Let us love his laws with all our heart, and be not fraudulent and deceitful labourers; but act boldly in all things, as far as the Lord permits us; and let us

and death, ascribing them to the immediate vengeance of Heaven for his heresy. "On the day of St. Thomas the Martyr, Archbishop of Canterbury," says Walsingham, a coteremporary historian, "that limb of the devil, enemy of the church, deceiver of the people, idol of heretics, mirror of hypocrites, author of schisms, sower of hatred, and inventor of lies, John Wickliff, was, by the immediate judgment of God, suddenly struck with a palsy, which seized all the members of his body, when he was ready, as they say, to vomit forth his blasphemies against the blessed St. Thomas, in a sermon which he had prepared to preach that day." But these reproaches do honour to his memory, as they were brought upon him by his vigorous efforts to deliver his countrymen from the errors, superstitions, and extortions of the church of Rome.

be valiant in the cause of God, and in hope of eternal reward.—Do thou, therefore, O Huss! a brother greatly beloved in Christ, unknown to me indeed in person, but not in faith and love; (for what part of the world can tear asunder and separate those whom the love of Christ unites?) be comforted and strengthened in the grace which is given thee. As a good soldier of Jesus Christ, war in word and in deed; and recal into the way of truth as many as thou art able: because neither by erroneous and deceitful decrees, nor by the false opinions and doctrines of Antichrist, is the truth of the Gospel to be kept in silence and in secret. Rather comfort and strengthen the members of Christ, by weakening the wiles and deceit of Satan; because Antichrist shall come to an end in a short time; it is the will of the Lord! It is a great joy to me, that not only in your kingdom, but elsewhere, God hath so strengthened the hearts of some, that they suffer with pleasure, imprisonments, banishments, and even death itself, for the word of God. I have nothing more to write, beloved brethren, only that I willingly confess I would strengthen you, and all the lovers of Christ's laws, in the love of the law of God. Therefore I salute them from the bowels of my heart; particularly your companion;* entreating that you would pray for me and the whole church. And the God of peace, who raised from the dead that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, our Lord Jesus Christ, fit you for every good work; that ye may do what is acceptable to him, through Jesus Christ our Lord: to whom be glory for ever and ever. *Amen.*

* Probably Jerome of Prague.

Though the joy of the clergy at the death of Wickliff was very great, it was not of long duration. They soon found, that his doctrines had not died with him, but were propagated with great zeal, and no little success, by his followers, who were commonly called *Lollards*.* Many of those who were preachers travelled up and down the country on foot, in a very plain dress, declaiming with great vehemence against the corruptions of the church and the vices of the clergy. These preachers were not only admired and followed by the common people, but were favoured and protected by several persons of high rank and great power, particularly by the duke of Lancaster, the lords Percy, Latimer, Clifford, Hilton, and others. By the zeal, activity, and eloquence of the preachers, under the

* Even to the present day, the derivation of this term remains a point of doubt and uncertainty. Clarke, in his *Martyrology*, p. 111. says, "About this time, A. D. 1210, the English, who now possessed Guienne, which bordereth upon the Earldom of Toulouse, began to help the Albigenses, being stirred up thereto by *Reynard Lollard*, a godly and learned man, who by his powerful preaching converted many to the truth, and defended the faith of the Albigenses." He further adds, that "John le Meyer much commends this Lollard, who foretold many things by divine revelation, which, saith he, came to pass in my time, and therefore he putteth him into the rank of holy prophets. And as for his learning, it is evident by his comment upon the Revelation, where he setteth forth many things that are spoken of the Roman Antichrist. This worthy man was afterwards apprehended in Germany, and being delivered to the secular power, was burnt at Cologne." A few pages afterwards I find the following short paragraph in the same volume. *Anno Christi*, 1322, *Lollard Waterus*, from whom our English professors were called Lollards, was taken at Cologne, where he had privately preached, and through God's blessing, drawn many from ignorance and error to embrace the truth, and persisting constantly in his opinions, he was condemned and burnt alive, p. 124. The discrepancies in these two accounts are so many and palpable, that they are not easily reconciled. I find no evidence that there were two persons of the name of Lollard, at the distance of more than a century from each other, both preachers of the Gospel, and burnt at Cologne for heresy. It is observable too, that even the latter account fixes the martyrdom of Lollard two years *before the birth* of Wickliff, who, therefore, though he may have read some of his writings, could not possibly have seen him nor been instructed by him.

protection of these great men, the new doctrines, as they were called, gained ground so fast, that, as a cotemporary historian of the best credit affirms, "more than one half of the people of England, in a few years, became Lollards." The same historian, who was a clergyman, and a most inveterate enemy to the Lollards, acknowledges, that as Wickliff excelled all the learned men of his age in disputation, so some of his followers, in a very little time, became very eloquent preachers and very powerful disputants; which he ascribes to the assistance of the devil, who, he says, took possession of them as soon as they became Lollards.

The clergy, alarmed and enraged at this rapid progress of the new opinions, attempted to put a stop to it by violence and persecution, which have been often employed by power against truth. They procured, or at least promulgated, a statute, which still appears in our statute-book, (though the Commons, it is said, never gave their assent to it,) empowering and commanding all sheriffs to seize and imprison all preachers of heresy. They also prevailed upon the King, in 1387, to grant a commission to certain persons to seize all the books and writings of John Wickliff, Nicholas Hereford, John Ayshton, and other heretical writers, and to imprison all who transcribed, sold, bought, or concealed such books. By these methods the clergy hoped to interrupt the preaching and writing of the reforming teachers, by which they chiefly propagated their opinions. But the cotemporary historian Knyghton observes, with regret, "that these laws and edicts were but slowly and faintly executed, because the time of correction was not yet come."

Though the violent factions amongst the nobility, and the general animosity of the laity against the clergy, on account of their excessive power and riches, prevented for a time the rigorous execution of the penal statutes against heretics, several persons were apprehended and tried upon these statutes. Some of them, as particularly Hereford, Ayshton, and Rapyngdon, who had been the most zealous propagators of Wickliff's doctrines, were, by threats and

promises, prevailed upon to make a kind of recantation, and to desist from preaching these doctrines. Others escaped with slight censures, by giving artful, evasive explanations of their tenets. In general it may be observed, that the followers of Wickliff were not very ambitious of the crown of martyrdom; and none of them were capitally punished in the reign of Richard II.

In spite of all the laws that had been made in England against the tyrannical usurpations of the court of Rome, they still continued, or rather increased. When a clerk had obtained a sentence in favour of his presentation to a church in the king's court, and the bishop of the diocese had inducted him in consequence of that sentence, it was usual for the Pope, on the complaint of the losing party, to excommunicate the bishop. When an English bishop had by any means offended his holiness, he sometimes punished him, by translating him to a foreign see, without his own consent, or that of the king. Upon a complaint of these papal usurpations by the Commons, in a parliament at Winchester, in 1392, a very severe law was made for the punishment of those who solicited, or brought into the kingdom, any papal bulls of excommunication, translation, or other thing against the rights and dignity of the crown.

These contests between the king and parliament of England and the court of Rome, encouraged the Lollards to make a bold and direct attack on the established church. Accordingly, they presented to a parliament, which was held by the Duke of York (the king being in Ireland,) at Westminster, in 1394, a remonstrance containing twelve articles of complaint against the church and clergy; praying for redress and reformation. In this remonstrance, they complain chiefly of the exorbitant power, excessive wealth, and profligate lives of the clergy, which last they ascribe chiefly to their vows of celibacy;—of transubstantiation, and the superstitious practices which the belief of it produced;—of prayers for the dead;—of the worship of images;—of pilgrimages;—of auricular confession, and its

consequences;—and of several other particulars in which the present Protestant churches differ from the church of Rome. What reception this remonstrance met with from the parliament, we are not informed. About the same time the Lollards published several satirical papers, painting the deceitful arts, abominable vices, and absurd opinions, of the clergy in very strong colours; which excited both the contempt and hatred of the people against them. Some of these papers, written with much asperity, and no little wit, were pasted up on the most public places in London and Westminster.

The clergy were so much alarmed at these bold attacks, that they dispatched the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of London, and several other commissioners, to the King in Ireland, to entreat him to return immediately into England, to protect the church, which was in danger of destruction. “As soon,” says a cotemporary historian, “as the king heard the representation of the commissioners, being inspired with the Divine Spirit, he hastened into England, thinking it more necessary to defend the church than to conquer kingdoms.” On his arrival, he called before him the lords Clifford, Latimer, Montague, and other great men who favoured the Lollards, and threatened them with immediate death, if they gave any further encouragement to heretical preachers. Intimidated by these threats, they complied with the king’s desire, and withdrew their protection.

Several of the Lollard preachers, discouraged by this defection of their patrons, soon after recanted their opinions, and returned into the bosom of the church. Thomas Arundel, archbishop of York, who was a most violent enemy to the Lollards, obliged those in his province who recanted, to take the following curious oath, which I give in the original language and spelling: “I —, before you, worshipful fader and lord archbishop of Yhork, and your clergy, with my free will and full avysed, swere to God and to all his seyntes, upon his holy gospel, that fro this

day forthword, I shall worship images, with praying and offering unto them, in the worship of the seyntes, that they may be made after; and also, I shall never more despise pylgremage, ne states of holy chyrche, in no degre. And also I shall be buxum to the laws of holy chyrche, and to yhowe as to myn archbishop, and myn other ordinaries and curates, and keep the laws up my power and meynテイン them. And also, I shall never more meynテイン, ne techen, ne defenden, errors, conclusions, ne techeng of the Lollards, ne swych conclusions and techengs that men clopeth Lollard's doctrine; ne shall her books, ne swych books, ne hem or ony suspect or diffamed of Lollardary, receyve or company with all, willingly, or defend in tho matters; and if I know any swych, I shall, with all the hast that I may, do yhowe, ~~or~~ els your nex officers, to wyten, and of ther bokes, &c."*

The kingdom of Bohemia is, in point of territorial surface, the most elevated ground, the most mountainous, and by nature the strongest in Germany. Its inhabitants too have ever been distinguished by the loftiness of their spirit, and the vigour and success of their struggles for civil and religious liberty. The country is almost surrounded by the mountains of the famous Hyrcanian forest, whose sides, broken into many sloping ridges, intersect this lofty and spacious amphitheatre, and form a landscape bold, various, and of great beauty. The metropolis of the country is Prague, a city of great extent, stretching along the banks, and on either side of the river Mulda, adorned with many sumptuous edifices, and particularly two strong castles, one of which was the residence of the ancient Bohemian kings. The ancient inhabitants are represented by cotemporary historians, as a people of a ruddy com-

* Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. I. p. 598-9. Wood's History of Oxon, 190—192. Lewis's Life of Wickliff, Anglia Sacra, tom. 2. p. 121. Walsingham, page 201—205. Biographia Britannica, Art. Wickliff. Spelman's Council, tom. 2. p. 629—636. Henry's Great Britain, Vol. VIII., 8vo. b. 4. ch. 2. sect. 2.

plexion, and of enormous stature and muscular strength; in their dispositions intrepid, fierce, proud, quick in resenting injuries, of a haughty deportment, lovers of a rude magnificence and pomp, and naturally addicted to revels and intemperance. The native language of Bohemia is the Slavonic, which also appears to have been the mother tongue of the Tartars, and their offspring the Turks, and of all the nations inhabiting those regions which extend from the northern parts of Russia to Turkey in Europe.*

The authority of the church of Rome was never so great and general as entirely to banish from the nations of Europe a spirit of inquiry, or the love of knowledge. During the thickest darkness of the middle ages, a star appeared here and there in the firmament, which reflected the light of ancient times, and formed a presage, that although the sun of science was set, it would return to enlighten bewildered nations. We have seen that so early as the eighth century, Claude of Turin, sowed the seeds of reformation in the valleys of Piedmont, whence they were gradually transplanted into other countries. In the thirteenth century, the Waldenses or Albigenses, names almost indiscriminately applied to the disciples of Claude, were multiplied throughout France to an astonishing degree; and when scattered by the persecuting power of Rome, they were driven into Bohemia, Livonia, and Poland, in the former of which places we learn that there were no less than eighty thousand of them at the commencement of the fourteenth century.

We are informed by Sleidan, that the Bohemians were divided, on the article of religion, into three classes, or sects. The first were such as acknowledged the Pope of Rome to be head of the church, and vicar of Jesus Christ; the second were those that received the eucharist in

* Namely, Russia, Poland, Lithuania, Hungary, Transylvania, Slavonia, Croatia, Istria, Wallachia, &c., &c. See Dr. Watson's History of Philip III., King of Spain, b. vi.

both kinds, and in celebrating mass, read some things in the vulgar tongue, but in all other matters differed nothing from the church of Rome; the third were those who went by the name of Picards or *Beghardi*—these called the Pope of Rome and all his party Antichrist, and the whore that is described in the Revelation, (ch. xvii.) They admitted, says he, of nothing but the Bible, (as the ground of their doctrine;) they chose their own priests and bishops, denied marriage to no man, performed no offices for the dead, and had but very few holy-days and ceremonies.* It is obvious, therefore, that the latter class alone were the genuine Waldenses, and that the second were a species of dissenting-conformists, differing but little from our English Episcopalians. It is proper the reader should keep this distinction clearly in view; he will otherwise fall into a mistake which is very prevalent, respecting the principles of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, who are generally supposed to have belonged to the sect of the Waldenses, though, in fact, they ranked with the second class mentioned by Sleidan, and never gave up the communion of the church of Rome. They were in Bohemia what Wickliff was in England, members of the established church, dissatisfied with its corruptions, and strenuous advocates for a reform both in its doctrine and discipline, like many of the evangelical clergy in our day, but without the virtue of dissenting from its communion, and of bearing a public and decided testimony to its antichristian spirit and constitution. The whole of the history of these Reformers, which is so circumstantially given by L' Enfant, in his history of the council of Constance, and with such demonstrable impartiality, affords unquestionable proof of the truth of this observation.†

When or by whom the Gospel was first preached in Bohemia, is a very doubtful point. That Paul preached

* Sleidan's History of the Reformation, b. iii. p. 53.

† History of the Council of Constance, Vol. I. *passim*.

the Gospel in Illyricum, and that Titus visited Dalmatia, are things capable of proof from Rom. xv. 19.—2 Tim. iv. 10. And hence the Bohemians infer, that it was preached in all the countries of Sclavonia in the first ages of Christianity.* They say that St. Jerome, a native of Illyricum, translated the Scriptures into his native tongue, and that all the nations of Sclavonian extraction use that translation to this day, just as the Latin church use the Vulgate; and further, that their bishops and martyrs are mentioned in the early ages of the church. But whatever of truth there may be in this, it is certain that Bohemia partook of the general corruption, and was immersed in the darkness of superstition, when Waldo and his friends sought an asylum in that kingdom, and in the year 1176 formed a colony at Saltz and Laun, on the river Eger. These Waldenses found the Bohemians tenacious of the rites and ceremonies of the Greek church, which are scarcely less superstitious than those of the church of Rome; but they endeavoured to convince them of the defect of their religious exercises, and introduced among them the knowledge of the Christian faith in its purity, according to the word of God.† Popery was not fully established in Bohemia till the fourteenth century, and then not by the consent of the Bohemians, but by the power and artifice of the Emperor Charles IV. Two of his chaplains endeavoured to persuade his Majesty to curb the Pope and reform the church, but they were both banished for their officious zeal. One of them, whose name was Janovius, and had studied at Paris, being a person of piety and erudition, was a very hearty friend to reform, and both preached and published against the Antichristian hypocrisy of the times; but as he knew the world, and, by residing at court, thoroughly understood the motives and views of great men, he comforted his friends with

* Crantz's History of the Bohemian Brethren, p. 13.

† Paul Stransky de Repub. Bohem. p. 272.

these remarkable words just before he expired. "The fury of the enemies of truth now prevails against us, but it will not always be so: a mean people will arise without sword or power, and against them they will never be able to prevail." A saying full of wisdom, and confirmed by the experience of ages; for reformation of abuses rarely proceeds from those that are in the possession of power. By the banishment of these two eminent men, the voice of reform was silenced. Ignorance, profligacy, and vice, prevailed amongst all orders of men in the national church: the inquisition was introduced for the purpose of enforcing despotism in the civil government, and uniformity of opinion in matters of religion. The consequence was, that multitudes withdrew themselves from the public places of worship, and followed the dictates of their own consciences by worshipping God in private houses, woods, and caves. Here they were persecuted, dragooned, drowned, and killed; and thus matters went on till the appearance of John Huss, and Jerome of Prague.*

It was in the latter part of the life of Wickliff, that king Richard II. of England, married Ann, the sister of Winceslaus, king of Bohemia; and in consequence of this family alliance, a free intercourse was opened between the two kingdoms. About the same time John Huss, who had been a student in the University of Prague, where he had taken his degrees, became a zealous disciple of Wickliff. He was born in the village of Hussinetz, in 1373, of parents not in affluent circumstances; at the age of twenty he was raised to the dignity of professor in the University of Prague, and in 1400 appointed preacher in one of the largest churches of that city. He was a person of eminent abilities, and of still more eminent zeal; his talents were popular, his life irreproachable, and his manners the most affable and engaging. He was the idol of the populace; but in

* Crantz's History, p. 1. sect. 4. and Robinson's Eccles. Researches, p. 480. SYNOPSIS Hist. Persecut. Eccles. Bohem. cap. vii.

proportion as he attracted their esteem and regard, he drew upon himself the execration of the priests.

Peter Payne, principal of Edmund Hall, in the University of Oxford, a man equally distinguished for his talents and his inflexible opposition to the friars, appears to have been the instrument of first conveying into Bohemia the writings of our countryman Wickliff, of which he was a great admirer. Payne is said to have been a good disputant, and to have signalized himself in a controversy with Walden, the Carmelite, on the subjects of pilgrimages, the eucharist, images, and relics, &c., &c.—in consequence of which he became so obnoxious to the clergy, that he was obliged to quit the University and flee into Bohemia, where he carried with him a number of Wickliff's tracts, which were highly esteemed by Huss, Jerome, and the greater part of the University of Prague. The introduction of Wickliff's writings, however, into that University, gave great offence to the Archbishop of Prague, who issued his orders that every person who was in possession of them should bring the books to him, in order that such as contained any thing heretical might be burnt! And we are accordingly told that two hundred volumes of them, finely written, and adorned with costly covers and gold borders, probably belonging to some of the nobility, were committed to the flames by Archbishop Sbynko; a conduct which excited great disgust in the minds of the students of the University of Prague, and of Huss in particular, who took every opportunity to persuade the members of the University that the conduct of the Archbishop was an infringement on the rights, liberties, and privileges of their seminary, whose members had a right to read all sorts of books without molestation. Huss and his friends consequently appealed from the mandate of the Archbishop to Gregory XII., who was then acknowledged Pope in Germany; and the latter cited the Archbishop to Rome. The prelate, however, informed his holiness how deeply the writings of Wickliff had taken root in Bohemia, on which he obtained

a bull authorizing him to prevent the propagation of Wickliff's doctrine in his diocese; at the same time condemning them in the most pointed manner as heretical, and issuing processes against four eminent doctors of the University, who had refused to deliver up the writings of Wickliff which were in their possession, and prohibiting them, notwithstanding their ecclesiastical dignities, from preaching in any congregation. Huss, and the members of the University, entered a protest against these proceedings, and on the 25th of June, 1410, appealed from the sentence of the Archbishop to the court of Rome. The affair was carried before Pope John XXIII., who granted a commission to Cardinal Colonna to cite Huss to appear personally before him at Rome, and there answer to the accusations laid against him of preaching both errors and heresies. Huss desired to be excused a personal appearance, and so greatly was he favoured in Bohemia, that king Wenceslaus, his queen, the nobility, and the university at large, joined in a request to the Pope, that he would dispense with such an appearance; and moreover, that he would not suffer the kingdom of Bohemia to be subject to the imputation of heresy, but permit them to preach the Gospel with freedom in their places of worship; and that he would send legates to Prague, to correct any presumed abuses, the expense of which should be defrayed by the Bohemians.*

Three proctors were dispatched to Rome to tender Huss's apology to his holiness; but the excuses alleged were deemed insufficient, and Huss being declared contumacious, was accordingly excommunicated. This excommunication extended also to his disciples and friends; he himself was declared a promoter of heresy, and an interdict was pronounced against him! From these proceedings he appealed to a future council; and notwithstanding the decision of the court of Rome, he retired to Hussinetz, the place of his

* Dupin's Eccles. Hist. xvth cent. Lewis's Life of Wickliff. Rolt's Lives of the Reformers, p. 13.

nativity, where he boldly continued to propagate his sentiments, both from the pulpit and by means of his pen. The letters which he at this time wrote are very numerous; he also drew up a Treatise defending the character and writings of Wickliff, and justifying his own conduct in reading his works.

The extraordinary state of affairs at this juncture, in reference to the chair of St. Peter, tended for awhile to screen Huss from the vengeance of his adversaries, by diverting their attention from him. In the year 1378, Pope Gregory XI. died, and was succeeded by the Archbishop of Barri, a Neapolitan, who assumed the name of Urban VI. This pontiff, a man of a haughty temper, began his reign in so arbitrary a manner, that he alienated from him the affections of his subjects; and his own cardinals so highly resented his behaviour that they set aside his election, and chose Clement VII. in his room. The consequence was, that Urban refusing to vacate his office, there were two Popes, laying an equal claim to St. Peter's chair, each strenuously exerting himself to strengthen his party; their quarrel immediately became, in the opinion of their deluded votaries, the cause of God; each found adherents in every part of Europe, and a deluge of human blood was spilt in the contest. During the period of more than twenty years were these ambitious prelates roaming up and down Europe, like wolves or beasts of prey, until at length, to put a termination to this disgraceful schism, Alexander V. was elected to the popedom, hoping that by this event the other two Popes would relinquish their claims. But restless ambition intervened; neither of them would give up his power, and from this time the church was governed, if such a state of anarchy may be called government, by three Popes at a time—their names now were John, Gregory, and Benedict. With a view to heal this fatal schism, and repair the disorders that had sprung up during its continuance, as well as to bring about a reformation of the clergy, which was now loudly and generally called for, in

the year 1414, the Emperor Sigismund convened the council of Constance. Hither from all parts of Europe, princes and prelates, clergy, laity, regulars and seculars flocked together. Fox, the martyrologist, has given us a humorous catalogue of this grotesque assembly. "There were," says he, "archbishops and bishops 346; abbots and doctors 564; princes, dukes, earls, knights and squires 16,000; prostitutes 450; barbers 600; musicians, cooks and jesters 320."

The council of Constance was assembled Nov. 16, 1414, to determine the dispute between the three contending factions for the papacy, and thither Huss was cited to appear, in order to justify his conduct and writings. The Emperor Sigismund, brother and successor of Wincseslaus, encouraged Huss to obey the summons, and as an inducement to his compliance, sent him a passport with assurance of safe conduct, permitting him to come freely to the council, and pledging himself for his safe return. Huss consented, and in all the cities through which he passed he caused placards to be issued, stating that he was going to the Council to answer all the accusations that were made against him, inviting his adversaries to meet him there.

No sooner had Huss arrived within the Pope's jurisdiction, than, regardless of the Emperor's passport, he was arrested and committed close prisoner to a chamber in the palace. This violation of common law and justice was noticed by the friends of Huss, who had, out of the respect they bore his character, accompanied him to Constance. They urged the imperial safeconduct; but the Pope replied, that he never granted any safeconduct; nor was he bound by that of the Emperor.*

* As the affair of the safeconduct, on which the aggravation of the injuries done to Huss so greatly depends, is placed in different lights by protestant and popish writers, it may not be improper to inquire into the merits of it, and to lay before the reader the principal topics of the argument on both sides of the question.

JEROME OF PRAGUE was the intimate friend and companion of Huss; inferior to him in age, experience and authority, but his superior in all liberal endowments. He was born at Prague and educated in that University. Having finished his studies, he travelled into many countries of Europe, where he acquired great esteem for his talents and virtues, particularly for his graceful elocution, which gave him

In answer to the protestants' exclamations against so notorious a breach of faith, the papist thus apologizes:

"We allow," says Maimburgh, "that Huss obtained a safeconduct from the Emperor: but for what end did he obtain it? Why, to defend his doctrine. If his doctrine was indefensible, his pass was invalid." "It was always," says Rosweide, a jesuit, "*supposed*, in the safeconduct, that justice should have its course.—Besides," cry a number of apologizers, "the Emperor plainly exceeded his powers. By the canon-law he could not grant a pass to a heretic; and by the decretals the council might annul any imperial act.—Nay, farther," says Morery, "if we examine the pass, we shall find it, at best, a promise of security only till his arrival at Constance; or, indeed, rather a mere recommendation of him to the cities through which he passed; so that, in fact it was righteously fulfilled."

To all this the protestant thus replies:—"be it granted, (which is, in truth, granting too much) that the safeconduct implied a liberty only of defending his doctrine; yet it was violated, we find, before that liberty was given—before that doctrine was condemned, or even examined. And though the Emperor might exceed his power in granting a pass to a heretic, yet Huss was at this time, only *suspected* of heresy. Nor was the imperial act annulled by the council till after the pass was violated. Huss was condemned in the fifteenth session, and the safeconduct decreed invalid in the nineteenth. With regard to the deficiency of the safeconduct, which is Morery's apology, it doth not appear that it was ever an apology of ancient date. Huss, it is certain, considered the safeconduct as a sufficient security for his return home; and, indeed, so much is implied in the very nature of a safeconduct. What title would that General deserve, who should invite his enemy into his quarters by a pass, and then seize him? Reasoning, however, apart, let us call in fact: *Omni prorsus impedimento remoto, transire, stare, morari, et REDIRE liberè permittatis sibi que et suis*, are the very words of the safeconduct."

In conclusion, therefore, we cannot but judge the Emperor to have been guilty of a most notorious breach of faith. The blame, however, is generally laid, and with some reason, upon the council who directed his conscience. What true son of the church would dare to oppose his private opinion against the unanimous voice of a general council?

great advantages in the public seminaries. The Universities of Prague, of Paris, of Cologne, and of Heidelberg, conferred upon him the degree of Master of Arts: and having made the tour of the continent, he visited England, where he obtained access to the writings of Wickliff, which he copied out and returned with them to Prague.*

As Jerome had distinguished himself by an active co-operation with Huss in all his opposition to the abominations of the times, he was cited before the council of Constance on the 17th April, 1415, at the time his friend Huss was confined in a castle near that city. Arriving shortly afterwards in Constance, or the neighbourhood, he learnt how his friend had been treated and what he himself had to expect; on which he prudently retired to Iberlingen, an imperial city, from whence he wrote to the emperor and council requesting a safeconduct, but not obtaining one to his satisfaction, he was preparing to return into Bohemia, when he was arrested at Hirschaw and conveyed to Constance. Every one knows the fate of these two eminent men. They were both condemned by the council to be burnt alive, and the sentence was carried into effect. Huss was executed on the 7th July, 1415; and Jerome on the 20th May, 1416. The former sustained his fate with the most heroic fortitude, praying for his merciless persecutors. Previous to his execution he wrote letters to his friends in Bohemia, which afford a gratifying representation of the frame of his mind. The following is an extract from one of them.

“ My dear Friends, let me take this last opportunity of exhorting you to trust in nothing here, but give yourselves up entirely to the service of God. Well am I authorized to warn you not to trust in princes, nor in any of the children of men; for there is no help in them. God alone remaineth steadfast: whatever he promises he will undoubtedly perform. For myself, on his gracious promise I trust

* Dupin's *Ecles. History*, p. 121.

Having laboured as his faithful servant, I am not afraid of being deserted by him. ‘Where I am,’ says the gracious Redeemer, ‘there shall my servant be.’ May the God of heaven preserve you! This is probably the last letter I shall be enabled to write, having reason to think I shall to-morrow be called upon to answer with my life. Sigismund (the Emperor) hath in all things acted deceitfully. I pray God to forgive him! You have heard in what severe terms he hath spoken of me.”

If we may credit the catholic writers, Jerome at first displayed less magnanimity than his friend Huss. The dread of suffering intimidated him, and he showed a disposition to concede his opinions to his Catholic interrogators, who perceiving symptoms of this compliant temper about him, craftily availed themselves of it, and by procrastinating his trial from month to month, they hoped ultimately to recover him from his heresy. In this, however, they were disappointed. His mind gradually resumed all its wonted vigour; and instead of yielding his principles to his persecutors, he avowed them in the boldest manner, and supported them with increasing confidence to the last. Poggio Bracciolini, the Florentine secretary, who attended the council, and was a spectator of all he relates, gave a pretty circumstantial account of the whole of this tragical affair, in a letter to his friend Aretin, the Pope’s secretary, and it is too interesting to be omitted.

Letter from Poggio of Florence to Leonard Aretin.

“In the midst of a short excursion into the country, I wrote to our common friend; from whom, I doubt not, you have had an account of me.

“Since my return to Constance, my attention has been wholly engaged by Jerome, the Bohemian heretic, as he is called. The eloquence and learning, which this person has employed in his own defence, are so extraordinary, that I cannot forbear giving you a short account of him.

“To confess the truth, I never knew the art of speaking carried so near the model of ancient eloquence. It was, indeed, amazing to hear with what force of expression, with what fluency of language, and with what excellent reasoning, he answered his adversaries: nor was I less struck with the gracefulness of his manner, the dignity of his action, and the firmness and constancy of his whole behaviour. It grieved me to think so great a man was labouring under so atrocious an accusation. Whether this accusation be a just one, God knows: for myself, I inquire not into the merits of it; resting satisfied with the decision of my superiors. But I will just give you a summary of his trial.

“After many articles had been proved against him, leave was at length given him to answer each in its order. But Jerome long refused, strenuously contending that he had many things to say previously in his defence; and that he ought first to be heard in general, before he descended to particulars. When this was overruled, ‘Here,’ said he, standing in the midst of the assembly, ‘here is justice—here is equity! Beset by my enemies, I am already pronounced a heretic; I am condemned before I am examined. Were you Gods omniscient, instead of an assembly of fallible men, you could not act with more sufficiency. Error is the lot of mortals; and you, exalted as you are, are subject to it. But consider, that the higher you are exalted, of the more dangerous consequence are your errors. As for me, I know I am a wretch below your notice: but at least consider, that an unjust action, in such an assembly, will be of dangerous example.’

“This, and much more, he spoke with great elegance of language, in the midst of a very unruly and indecent assembly: and thus far, at least, he prevailed; the council ordered, that he should first answer objections, and promised that he should then have liberty to speak. Accordingly all the articles alleged against him were publicly read,

and then proved ; after which he was asked, whether he had aught to object ? It is incredible with what acuteness he answered ; and with what amazing dexterity he warded off every stroke of his adversaries. Nothing escaped him : his whole behaviour was truly great and pious. If he were, indeed, the man his defence spoke him, he was so far from meriting death, that, in my judgment, he was not in any degree culpable. In a word, he endeavoured to prove, that the greater part of the charges were purely the invention of his adversaries. Among other things, being accused of hating and defaming the holy see, the pope, the cardinals, the prelates, and the whole estate of the clergy, he stretched out his hands, and said, in a most moving accent, ‘On which side, reverend fathers, shall I turn me for redress ? whom shall I implore ? whose assistance can I expect ? which of you hath not this malicious charge entirely alienated from me ? which of you hath it not changed from a judge into an inveterate enemy ? It was artfully alleged indeed ! Though other parts of their charge were of less moment, my accusers might well imagine, that if this were fastened on me, it could not fail of drawing upon me the united indignation of my judges.’

“On the third day of this memorable trial, what had passed was recapitulated : when Jerome, having obtained leave, though with some difficulty, to speak, began his oration with a prayer to God ; whose assistance he pathetically implored. He then observed, that many excellent men, in the annals of history, had been oppressed by false witnesses and condemned by unjust judges. Beginning with profane history, he instanced the death of Socrates, the captivity of Plato, the banishment of Anaxagoras, and the unjust sufferings of many others : he then instanced the many worthies of the Old Testament, in the same circumstances—Moses, Joshua, Daniel, and almost all the prophets ; and lastly, those of the New—John the Baptist, St. Stephen, and others, who were condemned as seditious, profane, or immoral men. An unjust judgment, he said, proceeding from a laic, was bad ; from a priest, worse ; still worse

from a college of priests; and from a general council, superlatively bad. These things he spoke with such force and emphasis, as kept every one's attention awake.

“On one point he dwelt largely. As the merits of the cause rested entirely upon the credit of witnesses, he took great pains to show, that very little was due to those produced against him. He had many objections to them, particularly their avowed hatred to him; the sources of which he so palpably laid open, that he made a strong impression upon the minds of his hearers, and not a little shook the credit of the witnesses. The whole council was moved, and greatly inclined to pity, if not to favour him. He added, that he came uncompelled to the council; and that neither his life nor doctrine had been such, as gave him great reason to dread an appearance before them. Difference of opinion, he said, in matters of faith, had ever arisen among learned men, and was always esteemed productive of truth, rather than of error, where bigotry was laid aside. Such, he said, was the difference between Austin and Jerome: and though their opinions were not only different, but contradictory, yet the imputation of heresy was never fixed on either.

“Every one expected, that he would now either retract his errors, or at least apologize for them; but nothing of the kind was heard from him: he declared plainly, that he had nothing to retract. He launched out into a high encomium of Huss, calling him a holy man, and lamenting his cruel and unjust death. He had armed himself, he said, with a full resolution to follow the steps of that blessed martyr, and to suffer with constancy whatever the malice of his enemies could inflict. ‘The perjured witnesses,’ said he, ‘who have appeared against me, have won their cause: but let them remember, they have their evidence once more to give, before a tribunal where falsehood can be no disguise.’

“It was impossible to hear this pathetic speaker without emotion. Every ear was captivated, and every heart touched. But wishes in his favour were vain; he threw

himself beyond a possibility of mercy. Braving death, he even provoked the vengeance which was hanging over him. 'If that holy martyr,' said he, speaking of Huss, 'used the clergy with disrespect, his censures were not levelled at them as priests, but as wicked men. He saw with indignation those revenues, which had been designed for charitable ends, expended upon pageantry and riot.'

"Through this whole oration he showed a most amazing strength of memory. He had been confined almost a year in a dungeon: the severity of which usage he complained of, but in the language of a great and good man. In this horrid place he was deprived of books and paper. Yet, notwithstanding this, and the constant anxiety which must have hung over him, he was at no more loss for proper authorities and quotations, than if he had spent the intermediate time at leisure in his study.

"His voice was sweet, distinct, and full; his action every way the most proper, either to express indignation, or to raise pity; though he made no affected application to the passions of his audience. Firm and intrepid, he stood before the council, collected in himself; and not only contemning, but seeming even desirous of death. The greatest character in ancient story could not possibly go beyond him. If there is any justice in history, this man will be admired by all posterity. I speak not of his errors: let these rest with him. What I admired was his learning, his eloquence, and amazing acuteness. God knows whether these things were not the groundwork of his ruin.

"Two days were allowed him for reflection; during which time many persons of consequence, and particularly my lord cardinal of Florence, endeavoured to bring him to a better mind. But persisting obstinately in his errors, he was condemned as a heretic.

"With a cheerful countenance, and more than stoical constancy, he met his fate; fearing neither death itself, nor the horrible form in which it appeared. When he came to the place, he pulled off his upper garment, and

made a short prayer at the stake; to which he was soon after bound, with wet cords and an iron chain, and inclosed as high as his breast in faggots.

“Observing the executioner about to set fire to the wood behind his back, he cried out, ‘Bring thy torch hither. Perform thy office before my face. Had I feared death, I might have avoided it.’

“As the wood began to blaze, he sang a hymn, which the violence of the flame scarce interrupted.

“Thus died this prodigious man. The epithet is not extravagant. I was myself an eyewitness of his whole behaviour. Whatever his life may have been, his death, without doubt, is a noble lesson of philosophy.

“But it is time to finish this long epistle. You will say I have had some leisure upon my hands; and, to say the truth, I have not much to do here. This will, I hope, convince you, that greatness is not wholly confined to antiquity. You will think me, perhaps, tedious; but I could have been more prolix on a subject so copious.—Farewell, my dear Leonard.”

Constance, May 20.

The news of these barbarous executions quickly reached Bohemia, where it threw the whole kingdom into confusion, and a civil war was kindled from the ashes of the martyrs. As to Winceslaus, the king, he was seldom sober, and paid no regard to the condition of his subjects. The nobility were divided into factions; some zealous to resent the insults that had been offered to the nation by the proceedings at Constance, and to repel the forces that had been introduced into the kingdom by the authority of the Pope, with a view to the suppression of heresy in Bohemia, and to compel that fierce nation to establish uniformity in religion. Sigismund, the emperor, had many respectable qualities; but he had lent himself wholly to the papacy at the council, and in consequence of the disgust which his conduct had excited, the Bohemians revolted.

and under the banner of a very intrepid leader, John Ziska, defended their opinions not only with arguments but with arms also. At first the populace were only a harmless inquisitive staring multitude; but as the Catholic priests proceeded to publish in the churches, bulls from the Pope, exhorting all kings, princes, dukes, lords, citizens, and others, to take up arms against heresy, conjuring them by the wounds of Christ to extirpate heretics, and promising the forgiveness of all sins to any person who should kill a Bohemian heretic, the people seceded in great multitudes, retired to the distance of about five miles from Prague, where they held meetings for public worship, elected their own teachers, and had the Lord's supper administered to them at three hundred tables, formed by laying boards upon casks, the number of communicants amounting to forty thousand.

Their leader, JOHN ZISKA, was of a noble family, brought up at court, and in high reputation for wisdom, courage, the love of his country, and the fear of God. Fugitives daily resorted to him from all parts, and put themselves under his protection. At one time four hundred poor men, who had lived in the mountains for the sake of enjoying religious liberty, came down to Prague, with their wives and children, and ranged themselves under the banners of Ziska. It is highly probable that these were Waldenses, the descendants of those who had settled in remote parts of the kingdom more than two hundred and fifty years before. Freedom from the Austrian yoke, deliverance from the tyranny of Rome, and the full enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, were the objects for which Ziska avowedly contended, and his army presently consisted of forty thousand men.

Æneas Sylvius, who afterwards ascended the pontifical chair under the title of Pius II., had travelled over the whole empire; and by him we are informed that the churches and religious houses in Bohemia, were more numerous, more spacious, more elegant and sumptuous than

in any other part of Europe; and that the images in public places, and the habits of the priests, were covered with jewels and precious stones. Ziska commenced his work of reform with attacking these. He demolished the images, discharged the monks, who, he said, were only fattening like swine in sties, converted cloisters into barracks, conquered several towns, and garrisoned Cuthna, defeated the armies of the emperor in several battles, and gave law to the kingdom of Bohemia till the time of his death, which happened in 1424. He encamped his followers on a rocky mountain about ten miles from Prague, which he soon after fortified with a wall, and within that the people built houses. This mountain he called Tabor (after mount Tabor in the holy land) and thence his followers obtained the name of Taborites.

When Ziska found himself dying he gave orders that a drum should be made of his skin; and what is equally extraordinary, his orders were faithfully obeyed. Ziska's skin, after undergoing the necessary preparations, was converted into a drum, which was long the symbol of victory to his followers. Procopius, a Catholic priest, converted by the writings of one of the disciples of Huss, revived the spirits of the Bohemian brethren, many of whom after the death of Ziska, had retreated to caves and mountains. Uniting the military with the sacerdotal character, this champion supported the cause of his party with great courage and bravery, but fell in a battle with the Catholics. Yet so terrible had the name of the Hussites become to the Emperor Sigismund that, despairing to reduce them by the power of his arms, he entered into a compromise, allowing them the use of the cup in the eucharist, the deprivation of which had been a principal source of complaint; together with a general amnesty, and a confirmation of their privileges. But verbal and even written promises are easily retracted, where there exists no power of enforcing their accomplishment; and a right avails nothing without a remedy. The dispersed brethren ceased to be formidable.

Sigismund renewed his tyranny. His immediate successors on the imperial throne were, like himself, zealous Catholics, and the friends and followers of Huss continued to be the subjects of frequent persecution till the times of Luther.

Crantz, in his history of the Bohemian brethren informs us, that after the death of Ziska, his followers divided themselves again, according to the diversity of their opinions and views, into Calixtines, Taborites, and Orphans; while, such as, with a distinguished zeal, urged an entire reformation were termed Zealots. In times of distress, however, they all united against their common enemy; and the latter, unable to carry the point against them, granted to their deputies, at the council of Basil, in 1433, the terms contained in the following four articles, which goes by the name of *The Bohemian Compactata*, or terms of agreement. 1. That the word of God shall be freely preached by able ministers, according to the Holy Scriptures, without any human invention. 2. That the Lord's Supper shall be administered unto all in both kinds, and divine worship performed in the mother tongue. 3. That open sins shall be openly punished, according to the law of God, without respect of persons. 4. That the clergy shall exercise no worldly dominion, but confine themselves to preaching the gospel.*

But notwithstanding these concessions, it appears evident that matters remained in a very unsettled state among the Bohemians about the middle of the century. The leading person in ecclesiastical affairs was Rokyzan, archbishop of Prague, a man of no principle whatever. The contentions of parties ran high; and this metropolitan, wearied with perpetual applications for reformation, which he found it quite impracticable to carry into effect, at length advised such as were dissatisfied with the existing order of things to retire to the lordship of Lititz, between

* Crantz's History, p. 19.

Silesia and Moravia, about twenty miles from Prague;—a place which had been laid waste by the ravages of war, where they might establish their own regulations respecting divine worship, choose their own ministers, and introduce their own discipline and order, according to their own conscience and judgment. Numbers adopted his suggestion, and in 1457 they formed themselves into a society bearing the name of the *UNITAS FRATRUM*, or *United Brethren*, binding themselves at the same time to a rigorous church discipline, and resolving to suffer all things for conscience' sake; and, instead of defending themselves as the Taborites had done, by force of arms, their only weapons were to be prayer and reasonable remonstrance against the rage of their enemies.*

It is highly probable that when the archbishop offered them this indulgence, he had little expectation that they would be able to carry the project into effect; it was merely an alternative which relieved him from a momentary embarrassment, and probably *that* was all he was concerned about; but if so, he found himself disappointed. Three years had not elapsed ere their numbers were considerable; pious persons flocked to them, not only from different parts of Bohemia, but even from every distant quarter of the whole empire; and churches were gathered every where throughout Bohemia and Moravia. Many of the ancient Waldenses, who had been lurking about in dens and caves of the earth, as well as upon the tops of mountains, now came forward with alacrity, and joining themselves to the "United Brethren," became eminently serviceable to the newly-formed societies, in consequence of their more advanced state of religious knowledge and experience. Many of the new converts renounced the baptism of infants, and were baptized by the pastors before they received them into church communion.†

* Crantz's History, part II. p. 23.

† *COMENII Synopsis Hist. Persecutionum Eccles. Bohem. cap. 18.* and *CAMERARIUS de ecclesiis fratrum narratio*, p. 87.

The archbishop had not foreseen the consequences of settling these people on the crown lands. The multiplication of their numbers, and their growing influence, soon drew upon them the attention, and excited the rancour of the Catholic party. A clamour against him ensued; and the Waldenses, Picards, and other opprobrious names, by which they were stigmatized, became too numerous and too scandalous for an archbishop to patronize; he therefore found it necessary to treat them with indifference and keep them at a distance. Scarcely had three years transpired from the establishment of the society of "The United Brethren," when a terrible persecution arose against them in Bohemia and Moravia, and they were called to prove "what manner of spirit they were of." They were declared by the State unworthy of the common rights of subjects; and, in the depth of winter, expelled from their houses in towns and villages, with the forfeiture of all their goods. Even the sick were cast into the open fields, where numbers perished through cold and hunger. They threw them into prisons, with a view to extort from them, by means of the severity of their sufferings, a confession of seditious designs, and an impeachment of their accomplices: and when nothing could be extorted from them, they were maimed in their hands and feet, inhumanly dragged at the tails of horses and carts, and quartered or burnt alive. During this persecution, those who had it in their power to do so, retired into woods, fortresses, and caves of

"Isthæc rebaptisatio, jam dictis tot causis usurpata et introducta a nostris, duravit in ecclesia nostra ad hæc usque tempora." *Apologia veræ doctrinæ eorum qui vulgo appellantur Waldenses et Picardi.* D. G. M. Brandebar, Anno 1532. Par. iv. de Baptismo.

"Initio crescente in cætu multitudinum hominum, et ex diversarum religionum professionibus accedente, si quis forte de veritate baptismi christiani dubitarent, et animo suo angerentur, et conscientiam haberent malam, eos expetantes hoc curarunt denuo baptizandos, exigendo et sinceræ fidæ confessionem et promissionem de observatione disciplinæ et vitæ sanctitate. *Quem confitendi promittendique morem præca ecclesia religiosissime tenuit.* CAMERARIUS, ubi supra.

the earth, where they held their religious assemblies, elected their own teachers, and endeavoured to strengthen and edify one another. The parent society at Lititz, being less molested than those in other places, did not cease to send messengers and letters to their persecuted brethren, with the view of strengthening their faith and exhorting them to patience. In process of time the storm subsided, though not until nearly every society of the Brethren in Bohemia was scattered or dispersed, and both the king and archbishop were removed from the stage of life.*

Uladislaus, prince of Poland, was now elected to the crown of Bohemia, and being a mild and tolerant prince, little inclined to persecution, the exiled brethren returned to their own homes, and resumed their occupations. Under this amiable monarch they cultivated their lands, applied themselves to literature, and for some years enjoyed prosperity as well as peace. According to the testimony of one of their bitter enemies, "They took such deep root, and extended their branches so far and wide, that it was impossible to extirpate them." In the year 1500, there were two hundred congregations of the United Brethren in Bohemia and Moravia. Many counts, barons, and noblemen joined their churches, who built them meeting-houses in their cities and villages. They got the Bible translated into the Bohemian tongue, and printed at Venice; when that edition was disposed of, they got two more printed at Nuremberg, and finding the demand for the Holy Scriptures continuing to increase, they established a printing office at Prague, another at Bunzlau in Bohemia, and a third at Kralitz in Moravia, where at first they printed nothing but Bohemian Bibles.

Although the King of Bohemia was extremely anxious to preserve peace and harmony among his subjects, whether Catholics, Calixtines, or the United Brethren, he found it no easy task to accomplish his wishes in that respect.

* Robinson's *Eccles. Researches*, p. 501.

“Every morning when he rose,” says a late writer, “and every evening when he retired to rest, he put up this petition to God, ‘Give peace in my time, O Lord!’ A prayer worthy of a king, but Uladislaus did not know that to attain the object of his prayer he ought to discharge his chaplains.” The clergy were perpetually teasing him for an edict against the heretics, and poisoning his mind with false representations of their sentiments and conduct; and they, at length, succeeded in obtaining a severe edict against them. The Brethren immediately drew up an Apology, which they presented to the king; and he, with his usual lenity, ordered his clergy to converse with the Picards, and endeavour to reclaim them by reason; but by all means to maintain peace among themselves. An order was consequently issued, requiring the principal ministers of the Brethren in Prague to hold a conference, on an appointed day, with some of the Catholic clergy; but early on the morning of that day, Martin Poczatecius, the principal enemy of the Brethren, died suddenly, and the conference was postponed.

As the king was understood to be tolerant in his principles, the Brethren thought that a confession of their faith might probably produce some good, and they accordingly drew one up and sent it to his majesty, who was then in Hungary. It did not, however, answer the end at court; for the Catholic bishops had recourse to a stratagem which unhappily succeeded to their wishes. The king was passionately fond of his queen, who was at this time in an advanced state of pregnancy; and the bishops and prelates having a great ascendancy over the queen, they, therefore, most humbly and earnestly entreated her to obtain from the king an edict to suppress the Picards, for they assured themselves that, at such a time, he would not deny her majesty any request, or occasion her a moment’s pain. The king one day entering her apartment, the queen mildly asked the favour. The monarch looked sad and sorrowful, but remained silent. Bossack, a Hungarian bishop, began

instantly to write in the king's presence; and the edict was soon prepared and signed. The moment, however, that the humane monarch had put his name to the instrument, he quitted the room, retired to his closet, fell on his knees, burst into tears, and besought the Almighty to forgive him, and to frustrate the sanguinary purposes of these bishops against innocent men. At first the States would not allow this edict the force of law; so jealous were the Bohemians of their liberties; and it took four years to bring them to consent to a statute which prohibited the "United Brethren" from holding any religious assemblies, public or private; commanded that their meeting-houses should all be shut up; that they should not be allowed either to preach or print; and that within a given time they should all hold religious communion with either the Calixtines or the Catholics.

Although the Catholic party had so far succeeded as to obtain this persecuting edict, they did not immediately reap from it all the happy fruits that they expected. The Bohemians were a bold and intrepid race of men, and not easily daunted. The king, and wiser part of the magistrates, did not go heartily into the clerical measures of depopulation and destruction; and though the dominant party were so strong that the king durst not openly protect the Brethren, he was obliged to wink at the cruel use that was made of this persecuting statute by some bigoted magistrates; but, upon the whole, the pacific inclination of the court was generally understood, and people acted accordingly. Some emigrated; others retired and worshipped God as formerly, in remote places and in small companies; some ran all risks, and many fell into the hands of their enemies and were punished. A Bohemian nobleman caught six poor men at their devotions, in a small village; he accordingly had them taken up and brought before the parish-priest to be examined. The latter asked but one question, namely, whether they would submit to him as a shepherd of souls? they answered to

this, that "Christ was the shepherd of their souls"—upon which they were convicted on the statute against heresy, made in the twentieth year of their sovereign lord the king, and instantly committed to the flames. This is a fair specimen of their proceedings, and it is needless to enlarge or multiply instances.

In this manner the affairs of the Brethren proceeded, until Luther began the reformation in Germany; at which time it would appear, that a continued series of persecutions had wasted the churches, and nearly exhausted the survivors of their fortitude and patience; insomuch that the Brethren appear to have been meditating a compromise with the Catholic church, under certain modifications; and actually wrote to Luther for his advice on the subject, in the year 1522. Sleidan has furnished us with the substance of the letter which Luther returned in reply, and it is of sufficient interest to merit insertion.

He informs them that the name of Bohemians had been some time very odious unto him, so long as he had been ignorant that the Pope was Antichrist: but that now, since God had restored the light of the Gospel to the world, he was of a far different opinion, and had declared as much in his books; so that at present the Pope and his party were more incensed against him than against them; that his adversaries had many times given it out, that he had removed into Bohemia, which he oftentimes wished to have done; but that lest they should have aspersed his progress, and called it a flight, he had altered his resolution. That, as matters now stood, there were great hopes that the Germans and Bohemians might profess the doctrine of the gospel, and the same religion; that it was not without reason that many were grieved to see them so divided into sects among themselves; but that if they should again make defection to popery, sects would not only not be removed, but even be increased and more diffused, for that sects abounded no where more than among the Romanists; and that the Franciscans alone were an instance of this, who in many things differed among themselves, and yet all lived

under the patronage and protection of the church of Rome. That his kingdom was, in some manner, maintained and supported by the dissensions of men; which was the reason also that made him set princes together by the ears, and afford continual matter of quarrelling and contention; that, therefore, they should have special care, lest whilst they endeavour to crush those smaller sects, they fell not into far greater, such as the popish, which were altogether incurable, and from which Germany had been lately delivered. That there was no better way of removing inconveniences, than for the pastors of the churches to preach the pure word of God in sincerity. That if they could not retain the weak and giddy people in their duty, and hinder their desertion, they should at least endeavour to make them steadfast in receiving the Lord's Supper in both kinds, and in preserving a veneration for the memory of John Huss and Jerome of Prague; for that the Pope would labour chiefly to deprive them of these two things; wherefore, if any of them should relent, and give up both to the tyrant, it would be ill done of them. But that though all Bohemia should apostatize, yet he would celebrate and commend the doctrine of Huss to all posterity. That, therefore, he prayed and exhorted them to persevere in that way which they had hitherto defended with the loss of much blood, and with highest resolution, and not cast a reproach upon the flourishing gospel by their defection. That although all things were not established among them, as they ought to be, yet God would not be wanting, in time, to raise up some faithful servants of his, who would reform what was amiss, provided they continued constant, and utterly rejected the uncleanness and impiety of the Romish papacy.*

Mr. Robinson thus recapitulates the history of the Bohemian brethren.

“ Authentic records in France assure us that a people of a certain description were driven from thence in the twelfth

* Sleidan's *History of the Reformation*, p. 53.

century. Bohemian records of equal authenticity inform us that some of the same description arrived in Bohemia at the same time, and settled near a hundred miles from Prague, at Saltz and Laun, on the river Eger, just on the borders of the kingdom. Almost two hundred years after, another undoubted record of the same country mentions a people of the same description, some as burnt at Prague, and others as inhabiting the borders of the kingdom; and a hundred and fifty years after that, we find a people of the same description settled by connivance in the metropolis, and in several other parts of the kingdom. About one hundred and twenty years lower we find a people in the same country living under the protection of law on the estate of Prince Lichtenstein exactly like all the former, and about thirty or forty thousand in number. The religious character of this people is so very different from that of all others, that the likeness is not easily mistaken. They had no priests, but taught one another. They had no private property, for they held all things jointly. They executed no offices, and neither exacted nor took oaths. They bore no arms, and rather chose to suffer than resist wrong. They held every thing called religion in the Church of Rome in abhorrence, and worshipped God only by adoring his perfections, and endeavouring to imitate his goodness. They thought Christianity wanted no comment; and they professed the belief of that by being baptized, and their love to Christ and one another by receiving the Lord's Supper. They aspired at neither wealth nor power, and their plan was industry. We have shown how highly probable it is that Bohemia afforded them work, wages, and a secure asylum, which were all they wanted. If these be facts, they are facts that do honour to human nature, they exhibit in the great picture of the world a few small figures in a back ground, unstained with the blood, and unruffled with the disputes, of their fellow-creatures.*

* Ecclesiastical Researches, p. 527.

Chapter VII.

THE HISTORY OF THE WALDENSES CONTINUED FROM THE
MIDDLE OF THE FOURTEENTH TO THE CLOSE OF THE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

SECTION I.

The history of the Waldenses, from the middle of the fourteenth, to the end of the fifteenth century.

A. D. 1350—1500.

IN reading the history of every country, says a late noble author, there are certain periods at which the mind naturally pauses, to meditate upon, and consider them, with reference, not only to their immediate effects, but to their more remote consequences.* This remark is as applicable to the history of the Christian church as it is to that of any particular country. I have endeavoured to conduct the reader through the mazes and labyrinths of that history, during a period of nearly fourteen hundred years, in which time we have traversed a dreary wilderness, through a dark and benighted season, until we are at length brought to approach the confines of light—the morning of the Reformation. In entering upon the last chapter of this book, it may be no unprofitable employ, therefore, for us to pause and take a review of the existing state of Europe, at this interesting period, in reference to the great concern of religion. The picture, indeed, has been already

* Fox's History of James II.—Introduction, p. 5.

sketched by an able artist, and, probably, I cannot do better than present it to the reader.

“The state of religion at this time was truly deplorable. Ecclesiastical government, instead of that evangelical simplicity, and fraternal freedom, which Jesus Christ and his apostles had taught, was now become a spiritual domination under the form of a temporal empire. An innumerable multitude of dignities, titles, rights and honours, privileges and pre-eminences belonged to it, and were all dependent on a sovereign priest, who, being an absolute monarch, required every thought to be in subjection to him. The chief ministers of religion were actually become temporal princes ; and the high-priest, being absolute sovereign of the ecclesiastical state, had his court and his council, his ambassadors to negotiate, and his armies to murder—his flock. The clergy had acquired immense wealth ; and, as their chief study was either to collect and to augment their revenues, or to prevent the alienation of their estates, they had constituted numberless spiritual corporations with powers, rights, statutes, privileges, and officers. The functions of the ministry were generally neglected, and, of consequence, gross ignorance prevailed. All ranks of men were extremely depraved in their morals, and the Pope’s penitentiary had published the price of every crime, as it was rated in the tax-book of the Roman chancery. Marriages, which reason and scripture allowed, the Pope prohibited, and for money dispensed with those which both forbad. Church-benefices were sold to children, and to laymen, who then let them to under tenants, none of whom performed the duty for which the profits were paid ; but all having obtained them by simony, spent their lives in fleecing the flock to repay themselves. The power of the pontiff was so great, that he assumed, and what was more astonishing, he was suffered to exercise, a supremacy over many kingdoms. When monarchs gratified his will, he put on a triple crown, ascended a throne, suffered them to call him *Holiness*, and to kiss his feet. When they disobliged him, he suspended all religious worship in their do-

minions ; published false and abusive libels, called bulls, which operated as laws, to injure their persons ; discharged their subjects from obedience ; and gave their crowns to any who would usurp them. He claimed an infallibility of knowledge, and an omnipotence of strength ; and he forbade the world to examine his claim. He was addressed by titles of blasphemy, and though he owned no jurisdiction over himself, yet he affected to extend his authority over heaven and hell, as well as over a middle place called purgatory, of all which places he said he kept the keys. This irregular church-polity was attended with quarrels, intrigues, schisms, and wars.

“Religion itself was made to consist of the performance of numerous ceremonies, of pagan, Jewish, and monkish extraction, all which might be performed without either faith in God, or love to mankind. The church ritual was an address, not to the reason, but to the senses, of men ; music stole the ear, and soothed the passions ; statues, paintings, vestments, and various ornaments, beguiled the eye ; while the pause, which was produced by that sudden attack, which a multitude of objects made on the senses, on entering a spacious decorated edifice, was enthusiastically taken for devotion. Blind obedience was first allowed by courtesy, and then established by law. Public worship was performed in an unknown tongue, and the sacrament was adored as the body and blood of Christ. The credit of the ceremonial, produced in the people a notion that the performance of it was the practice of piety, and religion degenerated into gross superstition. Vice, uncontrolled by reason or scripture, retained a pagan vigour, and committed the most horrid crimes ; and superstition atoned for them, by building and endowing religious houses, and by bestowing donations on the church. Human merit was introduced, saints were invoked, and the perfections of God were distributed by canonization, among the creatures of the Pope.

“The pillars, that supported this edifice, were immense riches, arising, by imposts, from the sins of mankind ; idle

distinctions between supreme and subordinate adoration; senseless axioms, called the divinity of the schools; preachments of buffoonery, or blasphemy, or both; cruel casuistry, consisting of a body of dangerous and scandalous morality; false miracles and midnight visions; spurious books and paltry relics; oaths, dungeons, inquisitions, and crusades. The whole was denominated THE HOLY, CATHOLIC, AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH, and laid to the charge of Jesus Christ.”* These things premised, we now return to the history of the Waldenses.

About the year 1400, a violent outrage was committed upon the Waldenses who inhabited the valley of Pragela, in Piedmont, by the Catholic party resident in that neighbourhood. The attack, which seems to have been of the most furious kind, was made towards the end of the month of December, when the mountains were covered with snow, and thereby rendered so difficult of access, that the peaceable inhabitants of the valleys were wholly unapprised that any such attempt was meditated; and the persecutors were in actual possession of their caves, ere the former seem to have been aware of any hostile designs against them. In this pitiable plight they had recourse to the only alternative which remained for saving their lives—they fled to one of the highest mountains of the Alps, with their wives and children, the unhappy mothers carrying the cradle in one hand, and in the other leading such of their offspring as were able to walk. Their inhuman invaders, whose feet were swift to shed blood, pursued them in their flight, until night came on, and slew great numbers of them, before they could reach the mountains. Those that escaped, were, however, reserved to experience a fate not more enviable. Overtaken by the shades of night, they wandered up and down the mountains, covered with snow, destitute of the means of shelter from the in-

* Memoirs of the Reformation in France, prefixed to Saurin's Sermons, translated by Robinson. Vol. I.

clemencies of the weather, or of supporting themselves under it by any of the comforts which providence has destined for that purpose; benumbed with cold, they fell an easy prey to the severity of the climate, and when the night had passed away, there were found in their cradles or lying upon the snow, fourscore of their infants, deprived of life, many of the mothers also lying dead by their sides, and others just upon the point of expiring. During the night, their enemies were busily employed in plundering the houses of every thing that was valuable, which they conveyed away to Susa. A poor woman, belonging to the Waldenses, named Margaret Athode, was next morning found hanging upon a tree!

This seems to have been the first general attack that was made by the Catholics on the Waldenses of Piedmont; for, though the former had repeatedly availed themselves of the edicts of emperors, the bulls of the Popes, and the promptitude of inquisitorial zeal, to disturb their peace, and put many of them to death, during the three preceding centuries, yet such had been the protection afforded them by the Dukes of Savoy, that the rage of their adversaries was happily restricted to the occasional apprehension of a few solitary heretics, for whose good they never failed to light up the fires as often as opportunity was afforded them. But the outrageous attack that was now made upon them was a novelty, and it made a lasting impression on their minds. They had experienced nothing like it, say their own historians, either in their own time or that of their forefathers; and for more than a century afterwards, they were wont to speak of it as of a dreadful scene which was still present to their view; and from generation to generation, they continued to relate, with deep impressions of horror, that sudden surprise which had occasioned so much affliction and calamity among them.*

* Vignaux's *Memoirs of the Waldenses*—Perrin's *Hist. des Vaudois*, b. ii. ch. iii.—Pierre Gille's *Hist. Eccles.* c. 4.—Morland's *Churches of Piedmont*, p. 194.

From that period, until about the year 1487, the Waldenses of Piedmont appear to have remained, in a great measure, unmolested in the profession of their religion. But scenes of far more extensive cruelty were awaiting them, as will hereafter be shown; it is, however, necessary for us first to take a view of the proceedings against their brethren in other quarters.

The persecution which had so furiously raged against them in France, during the earlier part of the thirteenth century, as detailed in a former section, and which may be said to have deluged the earth with their blood, had not wholly succeeded in extirpating the Waldenses from that country. The valleys of Fraissiniere, Argentiere, and Loyse,* seem to have abounded with them in the year 1460, at which time a Franciscan monk, armed with inquisitorial authority by the archbishop of Ambrun, was sent on a mission of persecution, and to drive them from the neighbourhood. Such was the ardour with which this zealot proceeded in his measures, that scarcely any persons in those valleys escaped being apprehended either as heretics or as their abettors. Those of them, who were not of the profession of the Waldenses, had recourse to the king of France, Louis XI., beseeching him to interfere, and by his authority, put a stop to the course of such persecutions. The monarch listened to their application, and issued his royal letters, in which he pointedly condemns the conduct of the inquisitors, who by measures the most vexatious, had molested the persons, and possessed themselves of the property, of innocent subjects, whom they had, with that intent, falsely accused of heresy, and annoyed with process upon process, both in the parliament of Dauphiny, and of several other countries.

Perrin has preserved a copy of these royal letters, in his *History of the Waldenses*; and they are entitled to regard

* The reader should not forget the pleasing picture which Thuanus has sketched of the inhabitants of these valleys, and which has been already quoted. See pages 69—71 of this volume.

from the disclosure which they make of the scandalous procedure of those agents of the court of Rome. A short extract will show the complexion of the whole. Thus his majesty proceeds. “ And, whereas, in order to obtain the confiscation of the goods of those whom they charge with the said crime [of heresy] several of the judges, and even of the inquisitors of the faith—are continuing to send out processes against several poor people, without any just or reasonable cause ; and *have put some upon the rack*, calling them to answer without any previous informations lodged against them ; and have condemned them for crimes of which they were not guilty, as hath afterwards been discovered ; while from others they have exacted large sums of money to obtain their liberty, and molested and troubled them by divers unjust and illegal means, to the injury not only of the said supplicants, but also of us and the whole republic of our country of Dauphiny, &c., &c.—the king, therefore, puts a stop to such disgraceful proceedings ; orders that all suits commenced against such persons as can give proof of their innocence be dismissed, and that restitution be made for any injury they may have sustained.”*

But the zeal, or avarice, of the Archbishop of Ambrun, and his inquisitorial colleagues, was so far from being damped by his majesty’s letters, that they proceeded with more energy than ever. They dexterously contrived to convert a certain clause of the letters, into an authority for their cruel proceeding, and found in it an entire justification of all their conduct ; in consequence of which they resisted every application for redress or remuneration. Attempts were repeatedly made by some of these oppressed people to regain the property of which they had been despoiled ; but though their cause was patronized, both by this monarch and by his successor Charles VIII. they never could obtain a remedy.

INNOCENT VIII. was raised to the pontifical chair in the year 1414, and soon after invested Albert de Capitaneis,

* Perrin’s Hist. b. ii. ch. iii.

Archdeacon of Cremona, with full powers to act as his legate and commissioner. According to the usual practice of the Popes on their accession to office, this pontiff issued his bull for the extirpation of heresy, pointing it particularly against the Waldenses, and arming Albert with authority to carry his will into effect. Having recounted, in a long **preamble**, the titles which belonged to himself and to his "beloved son Albert," he thus proceeds, "Our hearty desires chiefly tend to this, that as touching those, for the gaining of whom to the church, the supreme Maker of all things was pleased to undergo human infirmities, we, to whom he hath committed the care and government of his flock, may, with all watchful industry endeavour to withdraw them from the precipices of error, that, providing for their salvation, as it shall please God to favour us with grace, we may continually labour, that the Catholic faith may, in our times, be propagated, and the evil of heresy be rooted out from the borders of the faithful." After this precious specimen of dissimulation, his holiness condescends to be a little more explicit. "We have heard," says he, "and it is come to our knowledge, not without much displeasure, that certain sons of iniquity, followers of that abominable and pernicious sect of malignant men, called the poor of Lyons, or Waldenses, who have long ago endeavoured, in Piedmont and other places, to ensnare the sheep belonging to God, to the perdition of their souls, having damnably risen up, under a feigned pretence of holiness—being given up to a reprobate sense, and made to err greatly from the way of truth—committing things contrary to the orthodox faith, offensive to the eyes of the Divine Majesty, and which occasion a great hazard of souls," &c., &c. "We, therefore, having determined to use all our endeavours, and to employ all our care, as we are bound by the duty of our pastoral charge, to root up and extirpate such a detestable sect—that the hearts of believers may not be damnably perverted from the Catholic church—have thought good to constitute you, at this time,

for the cause of God and the faith, the Nuncio Commissioner of us and of the apostolic see, within the dominions of our beloved son Charles, Duke of Savoy—to the end that you should induce the followers of the most wicked sect of the Waldenses, and all others polluted with heretical pravity—to abjure their errors, &c. And, calling to your assistance, all archbishops and bishops, seated in the said dutchy [of Savoy] whom the Most High hath called to share with us in our cares—with the inquisitor, the ordinaries of the place, their vicars, &c.—you proceed to the execution thereof against the aforementioned Waldenses, and all other heretics whatever, to rise up in arms against them, and by a joint communication of processes, to tread them under foot as venomous adders; diligently providing that the people committed to their charge do persevere in the profession of the true faith—bending all your endeavours, and bestowing all your care, towards so holy and so necessary an extermination of the same heretics.” In this style the pontiff proceeds through several succeeding pages, giving directions for the raising of an army of crusaders, appointing generals and officers to command it—issuing instructions how to seize the effects of all heretics, and dispose of the booty, &c., &c., and at length he thus closes the address to Albert. “Thou, therefore, beloved son, taking upon thee with a devout mind, the burden of so meritorious a work, show thyself, in the execution thereof, so careful in word and deed, and so diligent and studious, that the much wished for fruits may, through the grace of God, redound unto thee from thy labours, and that thou mayest not only obtain the crown of glory which is bestowed as a reward on those that prosecute pious causes, but that thou mayest also ensure the approbation of us and of the apostolic see.”*—Given at Rome, at St. Peters, 27 Apr. 1487, and 3d of our popedom.

Albert was no sooner vested with his high commission, than he proceeded to the south of France, where he called

* Morland's Churches of Piedmont, p. 196—206.

to his aid the king's lieutenant in the province of Dauphiny, who lost no time in levying troops for his service, at the head of whom he himself marched, as directed by Albert, into the valley of Loyse. The inhabitants apprised of their approach, fled into their caves at the tops of the mountains, carrying with them their children, and whatever valuables they had, as well as what was thought necessary for their support and nourishment. The lieutenant finding the inhabitants all fled, and that not an individual appeared with whom he could converse, at length discovered their retreats, and causing quantities of wood to be placed at their entrances, ordered it to be set on fire. The consequence was, that four hundred children were suffocated in their cradles, or in the arms of their dead mothers, while multitudes, to avoid dying by suffocation, or being burnt to death, precipitated themselves headlong from their caverns upon the rocks below, where they were dashed in pieces; or if any escaped death by the fall, they were immediately slaughtered by the brutal soldiery. "It is held as unquestionably true," says Perrin, "amongst the Waldenses dwelling in the adjacent valleys, that more than three thousand persons, men and women, belonging to the valley of Loyse, perished on this occasion. And, indeed, they were wholly exterminated, for that valley was afterwards peopled with new inhabitants, not one family of the Waldenses having subsequently resided in it; which proves beyond dispute, that all the inhabitants, and of both sexes, died at that time."*

Having completed their work of extermination in the valley of Loyse, they next proceeded to that of Fraissiniere; but Albert's presence and that of the army being found necessary in another quarter, he appointed as his substitute in these valleys, a Franciscan monk, who, in the year 1489, began to exhibit fresh informations against the inhabitants of Fraissiniere. He cited them to appear before him at Ambrun; but, disregarding his citation, they

* Perrin's History, b. ii. ch. iii.

were first excommunicated, then anathematized, and lastly, condemned as contumacious heretics, to be delivered over to the secular power, and their goods confiscated. A counsellor, of the name of Ponce, attended on this occasion in behalf of the parliament of Dauphiny, the object of which was supposed to be that of precluding any appeal being made from this mixt judgment. The sentence was pronounced at the great church of Ambrun, and afterwards fixed upon the door of the church—to which were appended thirty-two articles of the faith of the Waldenses, chiefly relating to the mass, purgatory, the invocation of saints, pilgrimages, the observance of feasts, the distinction of meats on certain days, &c., on all which subjects they were regarded as heretical. To these, indeed, were added some detestable charges, concerning incest and uncleanness, but which, as they never had the semblance of probability to support, or even render them plausible, I deem it unnecessary to particularize.

The persecution which ensued, is said to have been extremely severe. For the Waldenses being condemned as heretics by the inquisitor, Ponce, the counsellor, and Oronce, the judge, committed them to the flames as fast as they were apprehended, without permitting them to make any appeal. The number of sufferers was also considerably augmented on another ground; for, whoever presumed to intercede in their behalf, though it were the child for the parent, or the parent for the child, he was instantly committed to prison, and himself prosecuted as a favourer of heretics.*

While these merciless proceedings were going on against the Waldenses in France, Albert de Capitaneis had advanced in the year 1488, at the head of eighteen thousand soldiers, against the valleys of Piedmont. The invading army was also joined by many of the Piedmontese Catholics, who hastened to it from all parts, allured by the specious promise of obtaining the remission of their sins, and the

* Perrin's History, b. ii. ch. iii.

hope of sharing in the sweets of plunder. The more effectually to get possession of the country, the enemy's forces were divided into detachments, and marched in different directions against Angrogne, Lucerne, la Perouse, St. Martin, Praviglierm, and Biolet which is in the marquise of Saluces; thus, as it were, encompassing the whole of the valleys. They also raised troops in Dauphiny, to overrun the valley of Pragela. But the Waldenses, armed with wooden targets and cross bows, availing themselves of the advantages of their situation, every where defended the passes of their mountains, and repulsed their invaders—"the women and children on their knees, during the conflict, entreating the Lord to protect his people."

When information of this affair was brought to the Duke of Savoy, his heart was touched with compassion towards his subjects. He was convinced they had always been a loyal and obedient people, and he candidly distinguished between the resistance which, on this occasion, his subjects had made, and a spirit of sedition and turbulence. They sent a deputation to wait upon him, and explain the motives of their conduct; at the same time offering an apology for whatever might seem improper. The prince accepted their apology and forgave them what was past. But having been informed that their young children were born with black throats—that they were hairy, and had four rows of teeth, with only one eye, and that placed in the middle of their forehead, he commanded some of them to be brought before him to Pignerol, where, being satisfied by ocular demonstration, that the Waldenses were not monsters, he blamed himself for being so easily imposed upon by the clergy of the Catholic church, as to credit such idle reports; and, at the same time, declared his determination to protect them henceforward in the undisturbed possession of those privileges which had been allowed their ancestors, and which the rest of his subjects in Piedmont still enjoyed.*

* Perrin's Hist. b. ii. ch. iii. Morland's Hist. p. 223

But though this declaration sufficiently manifested the kind intentions of the prince towards his subjects, he seems to have wanted the power necessary for carrying them into effect. The inquisitors, who lay in ambush in a convent near Pignerol, issued their processes daily against the Waldenses, and as often as they could apprehend any of them, they were delivered over for punishment to the secular power. In this way they continued to harass them in that quarter until the year 1532. And it appears from their history, that by these means a visible impression was made upon their public church-meetings. The fear of the inquisitors had imperceptibly led them to study to avoid publicity ; and in process of time they assembled for worship wholly in private. In the year last mentioned, however, they seem to have been sensibly struck with the impropriety of this mode of procedure ; for upon reviewing the existing state of matters among them, they came to the determination no longer to conceal their meetings for worship, but resolved that their elders should preach the Gospel openly and boldly, unawed by the apprehension of danger from their adversaries.

The Duke of Savoy, instigated by the archbishop and the inquisitor of Turin, seems to have taken umbrage at this reappearance in public of the Waldenses ; for, on being told of it, he so far yielded to the solicitations of the clergy, as to dispatch one of his officers at the head of five hundred men, horse and foot, who, before the inhabitants were apprised, entered the valleys, pillaging, plundering, and laying waste whatever came in their way. The unsuspecting people were, at the time the army approached, industriously employed about the cultivation of their lands. But recovering from the panic into which they had been thrown by this unexpected attack, they took courage, and every man quitting his plough and his agricultural pursuits, they flew to the passes of their mountains, which they secured ; and then arming themselves with slings and stones, encountered their invaders so manfully that they compelled

them to flee, leaving their booty behind, and many of their men dead upon the field.

When the news of this reached the Duke of Savoy, he remarked that experience had sufficiently shown it to be an improper plan to attempt to reclaim and subdue the inhabitants of Piedmont by military force; the strength of their country, and their intimate acquaintance with the defiles and passes of the mountains, giving them an infinite advantage over their assailants; and, therefore, while the skin of one of the Waldenses was to be purchased at the expense of the lives of a dozen of his other subjects, it was foolish to proceed in that way. He, consequently, declined employing his military force any more against them, and relinquished it to the inquisitors after heresy, to apprehend them two or three at a time, as they came in or went out of the valleys.*

I believe I must here interrupt the narrative, for the purpose of introducing a short extract from that lively French writer, Monsieur Voltaire, in which he furnishes us with an estimate of the character of the Waldenses in France, of whom we have been speaking. It is interesting to compare the opinions of different writers upon any particular subject; and the reader cannot be displeased at having the opportunity of seeing how nearly, on this topic, those of Voltaire, a man of no religion, coincided with the sentiments of the liberal Sleidan, and the incomparable Thuanus, to both of whom we have already had occasion to advert, and shall again in the sequel.

“In the twelfth century,” says Voltaire, “there was one Peter Waldo, a rich merchant of Lyons, whose piety and errors are said to have given rise to the Vaudois, (Waldenses.) This man having retired with several poor people, whom he maintained, to the desert valleys betwixt Provence and Dauphiné, acted both as their high-priest and father, instructing them in his doctrine, in which he

* Morland's History, p. 224.

differed very little from the Albigenses, or from Wickliff, John Huss, Luther, and Zuinglius, in regard to several of the chief articles. These men lived a great while in obscurity, busied in the culture of barren lands, which, with indefatigable industry, they rendered fit for corn and pasture: a proof of our being greatly to blame, if, through neglect, we suffer any part of France to be uncultivated. The neighbouring grounds were let to them on leases; and they improved them by their labour, so as to maintain themselves, and to enrich their landlords, who never complained of their behaviour. In the space of 250 years, their number increased to near 18,000, who were dispersed in thirty small towns, besides hamlets. All this was the fruit of their industry. There were no priests among them, no quarrels about religious worship, no law-suits; they determined their differences among themselves. None but those who repaired to the neighbouring cities knew that there existed any such things as mass or bishops. They prayed to God in their own jargon;* and, being continually employed, they had the happiness to know no vice. This peaceful state they enjoyed for above 200 years, *since the wars against the Albigenses*, with which the nation had been wearied. When mankind have long rioted in cruelty, their fury abates and sinks into languor and indifference; as we see constantly verified both in the case of individuals and whole nations. Such was the tranquillity which the Waldenses enjoyed, when the Reformers of Germany and Geneva came to hear that there were others of the same persuasion as themselves. Immediately they sent some of their ministers, a name given to the curates of the Protestant churches, to visit them; and since then, the Waldenses are but too well known.† So far Mons. Voltaire, whose

* What Mons. Voltaire means by this uncouth speech, is, that the Waldenses had no liturgy or forms of public prayer.

† Voltaire's *Universal History*, Vol. II., p. 338, 12mo. Edit. Edin. 1722.

narrative, considering the principles of the author, is as candid and correct as could reasonably be expected.

Of the number of persons who professed the faith of the Waldenses, both within and without the valleys of Piedmont, at the beginning of the sixteenth century—the period when Luther broke off from the church of Rome, and began the reformation in Germany, it would be impossible to attain to any certainty. But it is presumed the reader will have seen enough in the preceding pages to satisfy him, that the opinion which has so currently prevailed among us, of the almost total extinction of the Christian profession, in its purity, at the time of, and for ages preceding, the Lutheran reformation, is altogether a popular error. There was a period, in the history of ancient Israel, when idolatry and profaneness appeared to have so wholly deluged the land, that the prophet Elijah was led to consider himself as a solitary worshipper of the true God, in the midst of the creation. Yet the Lord had reserved to himself seven thousand souls who had not bowed the knee to Baal, although unknown to the prophet. It appears from what Voltaire has just remarked, and, indeed, an attentive reader of the works of Luther and his associates, will easily perceive, that their minds laboured under a somewhat similar mistake as to their own case. It was not without surprise they learnt, that there were numbers around them, in every country, opposed to the corruptions of the church of Rome, and sighing in secret for a reform. It may also be added, that Protestants in every succeeding age have but too implicitly imbibed their error.* The

* I might instance in proof of this fact, even in our own times, Mr. Cox's interesting life of Melancthon, recently published. The author of that work does indeed speak of "Waldus, Wickliff, Huss, and Jerome of Prague," as of imperishable names; and he adds, "but in vain did they struggle against the torrent of corruption that deluged the earth. They could oppose, in their respective times and stations, but a momentary resistance, and were swept away. Their efforts, indeed, produced some effects, but they were evanescent, for 'darkness

blessed God hath never left himself without witnesses in the world; and even during the reign of Antichrist—a period of the most general and awful defection from the purity of his worship, he had reserved to himself thousands and tens of thousands of such as kept his commandments and the faith of Jesus. Nor is there any thing in this to occasion our surprise. The real followers of Christ are subjects of a kingdom that is not of this world. And having no national establishment, nor aiming at worldly power, their principles and conduct have seldom been thought worthy of regard by the world, except in so far as their public testimony against it has subjected them to persecution. The true profession of Christianity leads its friends to cultivate peace and union among themselves, and, like its divine author, to avoid all turbulence and faction in the state.

But amidst the rubbish of error, as a late writer has justly remarked, which had accumulated century after century till the Reformation, God determined to erect the temple of Truth, and his providence cleared an ample space, chose a variety of workmen, and reared the admirable structure. And as in the erection of a building, it is necessary that there be different kinds of labourers, all co-operating together and all essential to complete the undertaking, so it was requisite, in erecting this great edifice, to prepare and to employ persons very differently constituted, but all ca-

covered the earth, and gross darkness the people.' But when Luther appeared," &c.—page 3.

Now what I object to, in this statement, is, that it is calculated to mislead the reader, inasmuch as it has a tendency to impress him with this very erroneous notion, that during the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, the four individuals, whose names he records, were the only advocates of reform. Thus the thousands, and tens of thousands, of the Waldenses and Albigenses, who at the constant peril, and generally at the expense of their lives, kept up a *standing testimony* against the abominations of the man of sin, are wholly overlooked! This is scarcely pardonable in a dissenter who knew better, and can only have arisen from the most culpable inadvertency.

pable of useful co-operation. If the reformation claimed the steady efforts of true courage and inextinguishable zeal, it ought also to be remembered, that it no less required a proportion of nice discernment, elegant taste, and literary skill;—if a superstition which invested a mortal with the prerogative of infallibility, were to be attacked and levelled with the dust, the ignorance which, with its characteristic blindness, supported that superstition, was at the same time to be dethroned and demolished;—if old abuses were to be removed, and a new order of things to be introduced and systematized, it was desirable to find not only a nervous, but a polished mind, at once to clear away the rubbish of error, and clothe unwelcome novelties with attractive beauty;—in a word, if existing circumstances called for a LUTHER, they also demanded a MELANCTHON.*

In the year 1530, George Morel, one of the pastors of a church of the Waldenses, published *Memoirs of the History of their Churches*, in which he states, that at the time he wrote, there were above eight hundred thousand persons professing the religion of the Waldenses;† nor will this appear an exaggerated statement, if we consider the view that was given, in the last section, of their dispersions throughout almost every country of Europe—the immense numbers that suffered martyrdom; and, what was formerly mentioned, that in the year 1315, namely two centuries before this time, there were eighty thousand of them in the small kingdom of Bohemia.

It seems reasonable, however, to conclude, that the Waldenses must have beheld with infinite satisfaction, the schism which took place in the Roman church, when Luther and his associates withdrew from its communion. For, independent of the labours of this intrepid reformer, the great cause for which the Waldenses were contending, viz. the purity of the doctrines of the gospel, and the simplicity

* Cox's *Life of Melancthon*, p. 38.

† Morland's *Evangelical Churches*, p. 224.

of Christian worship—was powerfully supported by a host of learned men, who rose up in rapid succession, and ranged themselves on the side of Luther. Among these were Philip Melancthon, John Ecolampadius, Martin Bucer, John Calvin, Theodore Beza, Zuinglius, Peter Martyr, Bullenger, and many others, all advocates of reform, and men of eminent talents, who, by their various labours, both from the pulpit and the press, contributed greatly to disseminate the knowledge of divine truth, and free the minds of their cotemporaries from the slavish shackles of ignorance and superstition.

But although we may readily conceive the pleasure which it must have yielded the Waldenses, to contemplate the labours of these great men in so glorious a cause, they do not appear to have acted precipitately in interfering with them, or soliciting an union of churches. The reformers, with all their zeal and learning, were babes in scriptural knowledge, when compared with the more illiterate Waldenses—particularly in regard to the nature of the kingdom of Christ, and its institutions, laws, and worship in general. Luther, for instance; besides that both he and Calvin always contended for a form of national christianity—a principle which, the moment it is received into the mind, must necessarily darken it as to the nature of the kingdom of Christ; Luther, with all his zeal against popery, was never able to disentangle his own mind from the inexplicable doctrine of transubstantiation, which he had imbibed in the church of Rome. He, indeed, changed the name, but he retained all the absurdity of the thing. He rejected the word transubstantiation, but insisted strenuously on a consubstantiation—that is, the bread and wine were not changed into the substance of the body and blood of Christ, but the body and blood of Christ were really and actually present in the elements of bread and wine, and were therefore literally eaten and drank by the communicants!* And

* It is not intended by this remark, to insinuate any disparagement to the character of this great reformer, of whose laborious exertions

with respect to Calvin, it is manifest, that the leading, and to me at least, the most hateful feature in all the multifarious character of popery adhered to him through life—I mean the *spirit of persecution*. Holding, as I do, many doctrinal sentiments in common with Calvin, I am prompted to speak my opinion of him with the less reserve. I regard him as a man whom the Creator had endued with transcendent talents, and have no doubt that he knew what “flesh and blood could never reveal to him.” He seems to have been blessed with an extraordinary insight into the economy of human redemption, as revealed in the sacred writings; and his vast and capacious mind took a comprehensive grasp of a system which angels contemplate with wonder and

in the cause of truth and virtue no one can entertain a higher opinion than myself. His praise is in all the churches, and will be handed down to the latest posterity with increased lustre. Let me further add, that what appears to me the most amiable and interesting part of his character seems to be the least generally known among us in the present day. To explain my meaning, I shall here quote a passage from the writings of one of his contemporaries, who, in a letter to Philip Melancthon, thus describes him:

“I cannot sufficiently admire the extraordinary cheerfulness, constancy, faith, and hope of this man, in these trying and vexatious times. He continually nourishes these good affections, by a very diligent study of the word of God. Then, not a day passes in which he does not occupy in prayer at least three of his very best hours. I once happened to hear him at prayer. Gracious God! What spirit and what faith there was in his language! He petitions God with as much reverence as if he were actually in the divine presence, and yet with as firm a hope and confidence, as he would address a father and a friend. ‘I know,’ says he, ‘thou art our Father and our God; therefore I am sure thou wilt bring to nought the persecutors of thy children. For shouldst thou fail to do this, thine own cause, being connected with ours, would be endangered. It is entirely thine own concern; we, by thy providence, have been compelled to take a part. Thou, therefore, wilt be our defence.’

“Whilst I was listening to Luther praying in this manner at a distance, my soul seemed on fire within me, to hear the man address God so like a friend, and yet with so much gravity and reverence; and also to hear him, in the course of his prayer, insisting on the promises contained in the Psalms, as if he were certain his petitions would be granted.”—*Cælest*, I. 275, *Com. de Luth.* LXIX. 8.

amazement, and in which they study the manifold wisdom of God. No mere man, probably, ever surpassed Calvin, in his indefatigable labours, according to the measure of his bodily strength, in making known to others the unsearchable riches of Christ Jesus, both from the pulpit and the press; and his bitterest enemies cannot deny that the progress of the Reformation was wonderfully accelerated by his means. Yet with all these excellencies, Calvin was a persecutor! He had yet to know, or at least learn how to practise, that simple lesson of the kingdom of heaven, "whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." Calvin could never comprehend, how another man could have as great a right to think wrong, as he himself had to think right! And that *it is the sole prerogative of the King of Zion to punish his enemies and the corrupters of his truth*. Upon this point his judgment was perverted by the principles of his education, and unhappily for his own character and the cause of truth, his conduct was founded upon this erroneous judgment. His behaviour throughout the whole affair of Servetus, is too well known to need any explanation in this place; but I conceive it to be the imperious duty of every friend to toleration and the rights of conscience, to express their marked abhorrence of this part of the character of Calvin. And more especially is it the duty of those, the similarity of whose theological creed to that which he contended for, hath subjected them to the imputation of being his followers. As an obscure, and humble individual of that class, I strenuously deprecate every attempt to palliate the enormity of Calvin's conduct in the instance referred to, by pleading, as many have done, that Socinus was as bitter a persecutor as himself: for until it be made apparent to my understanding how two blacks constitute one white, I must regard such pleas as extremely ill-judged. The truth is, and it ought to be avowed, that *the conduct of Calvin admits of no apology!* It was a violent outrage upon the laws of humanity as well as upon the laws of God, and

has fixed a stigma upon the character of that otherwise great man, which will never be obliterated. But let not the enemies of the truth, from this take occasion, as they too often have done, to identify the spirit of persecution with the doctrines which Calvin held. His conduct, in this particular, has drawn tears of lamentation and regret from the eyes of thousands, since his time, on account of the reproach it has brought upon the way of truth, "causing it to be evil spoken of," and it will continue to suffuse with all the consciousness of shame, the cheeks of thousands yet unborn.

SECTION II.

History of the Waldenses from the end of the fifteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century; and more especially of the proceedings against them in the South of France.

A. D. 1500—1550.

THE history of modern Europe does not present us with a more interesting period than the commencement of the sixteenth century, the æra at which we are now arrived. The sanguinary proceedings that had been carried on against the Waldenses in the southern provinces of France, towards the close of the former century, had apparently exhausted the malice of the court of Rome; the heretics, for the moment at least, were driven from public view; and the state of the Catholic church was more than usually tranquil. The empire and the priesthood, which for several centuries had been constantly in arms against each other, had depopulated Italy, Germany, and almost every other country in Europe, but the contest ended in the triumph of the church. The Roman pontiffs, says a late writer, have always possessed an advantage over the other sovereigns of Europe, from the singular union of ecclesias-

tical and temporal power in the same person ; two engines which long experience had taught them to use with a dexterity equal to that with which the heroes of antiquity availed themselves by turns of the shield and the spear. When the schemes of ambition and aggrandizement were to be pursued, the Pope, as a temporal prince, could enter into alliances, raise supplies, and furnish his contingent of troops so as effectually to carry on an offensive war ; but no sooner was he endangered by defeat, and alarmed for the safety of his own government, than he resorted for shelter to his pontifical robes, and loudly called upon all Christendom to defend from violation the head of the holy church. These characters were successively assumed with great address and advantage ; and although some difficulties might occasionally arise in the exercise of them, yet the world has been sufficiently indulgent to their situation ; nor has even the shedding of Christian blood been thought an invincible objection to the conferring on a deceased pontiff the honour of adoration, and placing him in the highest order of sainthood conferred by the church.*

At the opening of the sixteenth century the pontifical chair was filled by Alexander VI., who died in 1503, after a reign of eleven years, leaving behind him a memory, says Voltaire, more odious than the Neros or Caligulas, because a greater degree of guilt arose from the sanctity of his character. He was succeeded by Julius II., who after a *military* but successful reign of a few years, gave place to the celebrated Leo X., in whose pontificate Luther commenced hostilities with the papacy, threw off his allegiance to the See of Rome, and entered upon his career of reform. A. D. 1517.

To enter upon any thing like a circumstantial detail of the history of the Reformation, would not only demand much more space than can be allotted to it in the present

* Roscoe's *Life and Pontificate of Leo X.* Vol. I. ch. i. The reference is to the case of *Saint Leo IX*

undertaking, but would also, in a great measure, be to depart from my leading object. Nor, indeed, is such a narrative called for by the public exigence. Any deficiency of that kind which may be experienced by the readers of the present work may be readily supplied by consulting the authors mentioned below,* whose writings are in the hands of every scholar. Instead, therefore, of treading this beaten track over again, I shall only remark upon it, that the flame which was kindled throughout Europe, at this time, by the preaching and writings of Luther and his associates, so completely occupied the attention of the Catholic party for about a dozen years, namely, from 1517 to 1530, that the Waldenses, both in France and Piedmont, were, happily, in a great measure, overlooked. But as the conflagration excited by Luther's hostility gradually subsided, they began again to attract the notice of their adversaries, and to come in for an equal share of their inveterate malignity; of the truth of which the reader will soon have before him abundant proof.

In the year 1530, the Waldenses seem to have been entirely employed in paving the way for a more unreserved intercourse between them and the German Reformers. Such of them as resided in the south of France, had, at this time, been sustaining the fire of papal persecution, and it would seem that they had not encountered it with their usual fortitude. Many amongst them had been induced to shrink from the cross; and, to avoid its inconvenience, were fallen into the practice of feigning a complaisant kind of acquiescence with the national forms of worship. Some of the Waldensian churches of Provence, appear to have been deeply affected at seeing this Laodicean conduct prevail; and to bring the matter to its proper bearing, they commissioned two of their pastors, viz. George Morel and Peter Burgoine, to confer with the other churches and with

* Milner's History of the Christian Church, Vol. IV. and V. Sleidan's History of the Reformation. Robertson's History of Charles V., &c., &c.

some of the Reformers upon that subject. They first visited their sister churches in the neighbouring provinces of Dauphiny, and from thence proceeded on their journey towards Germany, to have a personal interview with John Ecolampadius, minister of Basle, in Switzerland; with Martin Bucer, at Strasburgh; and Richard Haller, at Berne. The churches sent letters by them, explaining their situation, and asking their advice. The following is an extract of their letter to Ecolampadius.

Health be to you, Mr. Ecolampadius.

“Whereas several persons have given us to understand, that He who is able to do all things hath replenished you with the blessings of his Holy Spirit, as conspicuously appears by its fruits, we have recourse to you from a far country, under the firm hope and confidence, that by your means the Holy Spirit will enlighten our minds into the knowledge of several things, concerning which we, at present, stand in doubt.” They then proceed to explain the immediate occasion of their writing—“We, poor instructors of this small people,” say they, “have sustained *for above these four hundred years*, most severe and cruel persecutions, not without signal marks of Christ’s favour, as all the faithful can testify; for he has often interposed for the deliverance of his people, when under the harrow of these cruel and severe persecutions; and we now come unto you for advice and consolation in this our state of distress,” &c., &c.

The particular subjects of difficulty and distress may be easily gathered from the letter which Ecolampadius wrote them in reply, and which is so excellent that I shall here insert it entire.

Ecolampadius wishes the grace of God, through Jesus Christ his Son, and the Holy Spirit, to his well-beloved brethren in Christ, called WALDENSES.

“We understand that the fear of persecution hath caused you to conceal and dissemble your faith. Now, with the

heart we believe unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation. But those who are afraid to confess Christ before the world, shall find no acceptance with God the Father; for our God is truth, without any dissimulation; and as he is a jealous God, he cannot endure that any of his servants should take upon them the yoke of Antichrist. For there is no fellowship or communion between Christ and Belial; and if you communicate with infidels, by going to their abominable masses, you will there hear blasphemies against the death and sufferings of Christ. For when they boast, that by means of such sacrifices they make satisfaction to God for the sins of both the living and the dead, what naturally follows from thence, but that Christ by his death hath not made sufficient expiation and satisfaction, and consequently Christ is not Jesus—that is, not *a Saviour*, and that he died for us in vain! That if we participate of that impure table, we thereby declare ourselves to be of one and the same body with the wicked, however contrary we may pretend it to be to our wills and inclinations. And when we say AMEN to their prayers, do we not deny Christ?

“What death ought we not rather to undergo; what torture and torment ought we not rather to endure—nay into what abyss of wo and misery ought we not rather to plunge ourselves, than by our presence to testify our consent to, and approbation of, the blasphemies of the wicked? I know that your infirmity is great; but those who have been taught that they were redeemed by the blood of Christ, ought to be more courageous, and always to stand in awe of Him who can cast both body and soul into hell. And what! is it enough for us to have preserved this life alone? Shall this be more precious to us than that of Christ? And are we satisfied with having enjoyed the delights and pleasures of this world? Are there not crowns laid before us, and shall we flinch back and recoil? Who will believe that our faith was true and sincere, if it want zeal and ardour in the time of persecution? We beseech

the Lord to increase your faith. But surely it is better for us to lose our lives than to be overcome by temptations. And, therefore, brethren, I beseech you thoroughly to consider this matter; for if it be lawful for us to conceal our faith under the tyranny of Antichrist, it must be lawful so to do under that of the Turk, and, with Diocletian, to worship a Jupiter or a Venus. It would then have been lawful for Tobit to worship the calf in Bethel—and what then will become of our faith towards God? If we do not pay to God that honour which is due to him, and if our lives be nothing else than hypocrisy and dissimulation, he will spue us out of his mouth, like base and lukewarm wretches. And how shall we glorify the Lord in the midst of sufferings and tribulations, if we deny him? We must not, brethren, look back, when once we have put our hand to the plough; nor must we yield to the dictates and instigations of our flesh, which, by prompting us to sin, though it may endure many things that are distressing in this world—may, after all, suffer shipwreck in the haven.”

This excellent letter came very opportunely to the aid of the poor persecuted Waldenses, who were immediately called to carry its principles into effect. Peter Masson, one of their pastors, and messenger of the churches on this occasion, returning home, was seized at Dijon, and condemned to death as a Lutheran. George Morel narrowly escaped with his letters and papers, but arrived safe in Provence, where he laboured assiduously and with much success in re-establishing the Waldensian churches. But the reader will best learn the state of affairs among the Waldensian brethren in the south of France, from the year 1540 to 1550, by my laying before him the following extracts from two eminent writers, who lived shortly after the events which they have recorded, and whose works are of unquestionable veracity; and I the rather do this, that I may not be suspected of any wish to exaggerate the sanguinary proceedings of the Catholic party against the Waldenses. The following is Sleidan’s account.

“In Provence, in France, there are a people called Waldenses, who, by an ancient custom, acknowledge not the Pope of Rome, having always professed a greater purity of doctrine; and, since Luther appeared, eagerly thirsted after knowledge. Many times had they been complained of to the king, as despisers of magistrates and fomenters of rebellion, which envious, rather than true, accusation, is by most made use of at this day. They live together in some towns and villages, amongst which is Merindole. About five years since, sentence was pronounced against them in the parliament of Aix, the chief judicature of the province, ‘That they shall all promiscuously be destroyed, that the houses shall be pulled down, the village levelled with the ground, all the trees also cut down, and the place rendered a desert.’ Now though this sentence was pronounced, yet it was not then put in execution, William de Bellay, of Langey, the king’s lieutenant in Piedmont, with some others, having represented the matter to the king, as a case that ought to be reviewed by himself. But, at length, this year, 1545, John Meinier, president of the parliament of Aix, having, April 12th, called the parliament, read to them the king’s letters, which warranted him to put the sentence into execution. Now Meinier is said to have procured these letters by means of the Cardinal of Tournon, and the solicitation of Philip Cortine, a proper agent in the case. However, having received them in the month of January, he did not immediately produce them, but kept them till a season more proper for the exploit. The letters being read, some of the parliament were selected to see the matter put in execution, to whom Meinier offered himself as assistant, because that in the absence of Grignian, the governor of the province, he had the chief command. Before that time, he had by the king’s orders raised forces for the English war, and these he made use of for his purpose: besides these, he commanded all that were able to carry arms in Marseilles, Aix, Arles, and other populous places, to repair to him, under

severe penalties, if they disobeyed, having assistance likewise sent him from the country of Avignon, under the dominion of the Pope. The first attempt then was not made upon those of Merindole, but upon the country adjoining the town of Pertuse. April the thirteenth, Meinier, attended by a multitude of gentlemen and officers, came to Cadenet. In the mean-time some officers made an irruption into one or two villages upon the river of La Druance, and putting all to fire and sword, plundered and carried away a great many cattle. The same also was done in other places, whilst those of Merindole seeing all in a flame about them, left their habitations, flew into the woods, and in great consternation spent the night at the village of Sainfalaise. The inhabitants of that place were themselves preparing to fly; for the pope's vice-legate had ordered some officers to fall upon them, and put them to the sword. Next day they advanced farther into the woods; for they were beset on all hands with danger, Meinier having made it death for any person to aid or assist them, and commanding them all, without respect, to be killed wherever they were found. The same edict was in force in the neighbouring places of the Pope's jurisdiction, and some bishops of that country were reported to have maintained a great part of those forces. They had a tedious and uneasy journey of it then, marching with their children on their backs and their arms, nay, and some in the cradle, poor women also big with child following them. When they were got to the appointed place, whither many in that forlorn condition had fled, they had intelligence not long after, that Meinier was mustering together all his forces, that he might fall upon them; and this news they learnt towards the evening. Wherefore, consulting together what was best to be done, they resolved upon the spot, because the ways were rough and difficult, to leave their wives, daughters, and little children there, with some few to bear them company, amongst whom was one of their ministers, and the rest betook themselves to the town of Mus: this they did in hope, that the enemy

might show some compassion towards a helpless and comfortless multitude. But what wailing and lamentation, what sighing and embracing, there was at parting, any man may easily imagine. Having marched all night long, and passed the mountain De Leberon, they had the sad prospect of many villages and farms all in a flame. Meinier, in the mean-time, having divided his forces, set about the work ; and, because he had got intelligence of the place to which those of Merindole had betaken themselves, he himself marched to Merindole, and sent the rest of his men in search and pursuit of them. But, before these were come into the wood, one of the soldiers, moved with pity, ran before, and from the top of a rock, in the place where he judged the poor fugitives might have rested, he threw down two stones, calling to them by intervals, though he did not see them, that they should instantly fly for their lives. And at the same instant, two of those who had betaken themselves to Mus came ; and having got notice of the enemies approach, advised the minister of the church, and the rest of those few guards that were left with the women, to be gone, having showed them a steep way through the wood, by which they might escape all danger in their flight. Hardly were these gone, when the raging soldiers came in shouting and making a frightful noise, with drawn swords preparing for the butchery. However, at that time they forebore to kill, but having committed many insolences, and robbed the poor creatures of all their money and provisions, they carried them away prisoners. They had purposed to have used them more basely, but a captain of horse prevented it, who by chance coming in, threatened them, and commanded them to march straight to Meinier ; so that they proceeded no farther, but leaving the women there, who were about five hundred in number, they carried off the cattle and booty. In the mean-time Meinier came to Merindole, and finding it forsaken by the inhabitants, he plundered and set it on fire, which was ushered in by a very cruel action ; for having found there one single youth,

he commanded him to be tied to an olive tree, and there shot to death. He marched next to Cabriere, and began to batter the town ; but, by the mediation of Captain Pou-lain, he persuaded the towns-people, upon promise of indemnity, to open the gates ; which being done, and the soldiers let in, after a little pause, all were put to the sword, without respect to age or sex. Many fled to the church, others to other places, and some into the wine cellar of the castle ; but being dragged out into a meadow, and stript naked, they were all put to the sword, not only the men, but also the women, and many of these with child too. Meinier also shut up about forty women in a barn full of hay and straw, and then set it on fire ; and after that, the poor creatures having attempted, in vain, to smother the fire with their clothes, which for that end they had pulled off, betook themselves to the great window, at which the hay is commonly pitched up into the barn, with an intention to leap down from thence, they were kept in with pikes and spears, so that all of them perished in the flames ; and this happened on the twentieth of April. Meinier after this sent part of his forces to besiege the town of Coste ; but when they were just upon their march, those were found, who, as we said a little before, had fled into the wine cellar of the castle : a noise being thereupon raised, as if there had been some ambush laid, the soldiers were recalled, who put every man of them to the sword. The number of the slain, as well in the town as abroad in the fields, amounted to eight hundred ! The young infants, which survived the fury, were for the most part rebaptized by the enemy. Affairs thus despatched at Cabriere, the forces were sent to Coste : the lord of that town had beforehand agreed with the inhabitants, that they should carry their arms into the castle, and in four places make breaches in the walls ; which if they did, he promised them that he would use his interest, which he knew could easily prevail with Meinier, that they should receive no damage. Being over persuaded, they obeyed ; and he departed with a pur-

pose seemingly to treat and intercede for them ; but he was not gone far before the soldiers met him, who nevertheless proceeded in their march, and attacked the place. At the first onset they did but little, but next day they more briskly renewed the assault ; and having burnt all the suburbs about, they easily became masters of the place, and the rather, that the night before, most had deserted the town and fled, having got down over the walls by ropes. After the victorious had put all that stood in their way to fire and sword, they ran into a garden adjoining the castle, and there satiated their lust upon the women and young girls promiscuously, who in great fear and consternation had fled thither ; and for a day and night's time, that they kept them shut up there, so inhumanly and barbarously did they use them, that the pregnant women and younger girls shortly after died of it. In the mean-time the Merindolians, and many others who wandered with them over the woods and rocks, being taken, were either sent to the galleys, or put to death, and many also were starved. Not far also from the town of Mus, as we mentioned before, some five and twenty men had got into a cave, and kept lurking there, but being betrayed, all of them were either smothered with smoke, or burnt : so that no kind of cruelty was omitted. Some, however, that had escaped this butchery, got to Geneva, and the places thereabouts. When the news of this was brought into Germany, many were highly offended thereat ; and the Swiss, who are not of the Popish religion, interceded with the French king, that he would be merciful to those who had fled their country. But the king answered them, that he had just cause for what he had done ; and that what he did within his own territories, and how he punished the guilty, concerned them no more to know, than it did him what was done amongst them.”*

* Sleidan's History of the Reformation, b. xvi.

I cannot better close this section than by an extract from an eminent Catholic writer, who was cotemporary with the dreadful occurrences which he has so impartially recorded; and notwithstanding its length, and also that it touches upon some particulars already adverted to by Sleidan, I persuade myself that its importance and interesting nature will more than compensate for its prolixity.

“When the inhabitants of Merindole and Cabriere, at the report of those things which were done in Germany, lifted up their crests, and hiring teachers out of Germany, discovered themselves more manifestly than they had done before, they were brought to judgment by the parliament of Aix, at the instance of the king’s procurator; but being admonished by their friends and deterred by the danger which undoubtedly attended their trial, they failed to appear. And having been summoned for three market-days together, they were condemned as contumacious, by a most horrible and immeasurably cruel sentence, on the 18th day of November, about the year 1540, Bartholomew la Chasagne, a lawyer of great reputation, being at that time president of the parliament. By that decree the fathers of families were condemned to the flames, and the estates, wives, children, and servants of the condemned parties confiscated to the use of the treasury. And because Merindole had hitherto been the usual den and receptacle of such sort of infected persons, it was ordered, that all the houses should be laid level with the ground, that the subterraneous caves and vaults, where they might be concealed, should be demolished and filled up; that the wood round about it should be cut down, and even the very trees of the gardens; that the possessions of those who dwelt at Merindole should not be so much as let for the future to any of the same family, or even of the same name, with the former owners. The execution of this cruel decree was committed to the ordinary judges of Aix, Tournes, St. Maximim, and Apt; but it was thought by most people very proper to be

suspended, until in process of time the sentence issued against the absent and contumacious, should pass by the laws and customs of the realm into a definite sentence. Others, on the contrary, judged it more fit to be precipitated, out of hatred to the crime, and regard to the danger which that contagion certainly threatened, if any delay were interposed. In the first place the bishops of Aix and Arles pressed Chassagne to proceed against the rebels with an armed force, promising, in their own and the name of the other ecclesiastics, a great sum of money towards the expenses of that war. Whilst they disputed on each side with great warmth, the matter was put off, by a method ridiculous enough in itself, but well accommodated to the person with whom it was used. There was at Aix, Nicolas Allens, a gentleman of Arles, of great respectability, and not unskilled in letters, an intimate friend of Chassagne's, who, shocked at the injustice of the decree, and greatly desiring to have it respited, at a private conference, addressed himself to the wavering president in the following speech.

“You are not ignorant of the discourses which every where pass in relation to the sentence lately issued against the inhabitants of Merindole; nor is it my business or inclination to give my opinion of them; well knowing how important it is to a well ordered commonwealth, that judgments should be solemnly regarded, and not rashly called in question. But if we consider the magnitude of the affair, it seems worthy of inquiry, whether the execution ought not to be deferred, and the bitterness of the sentence mitigated, by the advantage of a delay. As various and very considerable reasons may be alleged for that delay, I have determined to treat familiarly with you, by the help of your own arguments, agreeably to that intimacy which subsists between us. Do you not remember, whilst you were yet sitting only on the lower bench of justice at Autun, what you formerly thought in the case of the mice? For you have even published a narrative of it; and such is your modesty and candour, that I have observed you to

call to mind the transactions of those times with pleasure. This is the account you give. When, in the bailliage of Autun, a great multitude of mice had done much damage by eating the corn, the country people could think of no more immediate remedy for this new disaster, than that the bishop or his vicar should excommunicate the mice. The affair then being laid before the bishop's vicar, he was of opinion, that the crier of the court should give them three citations; which done, he was still unwilling to pronounce sentence, till the mice had an advocate assigned them, who should plead for them in their absence. You, therefore, undertook the patronage of the mice, and in that case, in pursuance of the character which you sustained, you by many arguments persuaded the judges, that the mice had not been regularly summoned; you obtained for them that a fresh day should be set them by the curates of the respective parishes, forasmuch as the lives of all the mice were concerned in the issue of that trial. And when you had gained that point, you again showed, that too short a time had been given them, considering that the mice who were to appear were waylaid in every village by the cats. You then brought many things out of the Holy Scriptures in defence of your clients, and prevailed at length to have a longer time assigned them, in which proceeding you acquired great reputation for equity and knowledge of the law. I now call you to your own book, and your own arguments. For what can sound harsher in the ears of mankind, than that you, who in the case of mice thought the due course of judgment proper to be observed, should think it fit to be perverted in a cause wherein the life, safety, and fortunes of men are concerned. Beware, therefore, lest you incur the fault of those fencing-masters, who, when they fight at blunts, observe the rules of the science, and often come off conquerors; but when they are to draw their sword against an enemy, are either so enraged or confounded that they forget their art, and generally suffer themselves to be stabbed. What you observed in that lu-

dicrous process, when you were yet but a youth, and little better than a private person, will you neglect in so serious an affair, at that age, and in that station, wherein you have raised such an universal opinion of yourself? Are the lives of so many wretched men so cheap a thing, that they shall find a harder fate at your hands, now you are judge, than the mice formerly experienced under your patronage? I do not speak of their innocence. But you yourself know how many things they are maliciously and wrongfully charged with, and that in other respects they are diligent worshippers of God, and never refuse to pay their landlords their dues, nor to yield tribute or obedience to the prince or the magistrate. Therefore, by the friendship which is betwixt us, I conjure you again and again maturely to weigh these reasons, and to persuade yourself, that in a cause which respects the life, and death, and fortunes of men, no delay can be too long.*

“By this speech Allens prevailed with Chassagne to respite the business and to dismiss the troops which had already rendezvoused in great numbers, until he could know the mind of the king; who being informed of the decree by William du Bellay Sieur de Langey, lieutenant general

* That this whimsical circumstance, namely, *the excommunication of the mice by the spiritual court*, actually took place, as related by our author, can admit of no reasonable doubt; nor, indeed, that the cause of the poor mice was successfully pleaded by this eminent counsellor. The question, however, will naturally strike a reflecting mind, “Were the inhabitants of the country, who indicted the mice for misdemeanor, really in earnest in this ludicrous affair; or was it only what, in modern style, is called a *hoax* upon the clergy?” For myself, I have little doubt that the latter was the case; and that both the indictment and the pleadings of the counsel were designed to burlesque the proceedings of the Catholic clergy, in their treatment of the heretics. The main difficulty is to believe that the clergy themselves could be so stupid as not to see it in this light. And I am perfectly aware that, in the present enlightened æra, a historian is in danger of shocking the credibility of his readers even while he impartially relates the mummary that was prevalent among the Catholics of those days: witness the feast of the ass, mentioned in my first volume.

in Piedmont, commanded the latter to inform himself of the case, and to transmit him an account of it. Accordingly, after due inquiry, he made this discovery, that the Vaudois, or Waldenses, were a people, who about three hundred years before had hired, of the owners, a rocky and uncultivated part of the country, which, by dint of pains and constant tillage, they had rendered productive of fruits and fit for cattle; that they were extremely patient of labour and want; abhorring all contentions; kind to the poor; that they paid the prince's taxes, and their lords' dues, with the greatest exactness and fidelity; that they kept up a show of divine worship by daily prayer and innocence of manners; but seldom came to the churches of the saints, unless by chance when they went to the neighbouring towns for traffic or other business; and whenever they set their feet in them, they paid no adorations to the statues of God or the saints, nor brought them any tapers or other presents; nor ever entreated the priests to say mass for them, or the souls of their relations; nor crossed their foreheads, as is the manner of others; that when it thundered they never sprinkled themselves with holy water, but lifting up their eyes to heaven, implored the assistance of God; that they never made religious pilgrimages, nor uncovered their heads in the public ways before the crucifixes; that they performed their worship in a strange manner, and in the vulgar tongue; and lastly, paid no honour to the Pope or the bishops, but esteemed some select persons of their own number as priests and doctors. When this report was made to Francis, on the eighth day of February, he dispatched an arret to the parliament of Aix, wherein, having pardoned all past crimes, he allowed the Waldenses the space of three months, within which time they were required publicly to revoke their opinions: and that it might be known who they were that were willing to reap the benefit of the amnesty, it was ordered that chosen persons out of the towns and villages should appear at Aix, in the name of the rest of the multitude, and

publicly abjure their error: if they persisted in it, the parliament were impowered and commanded to punish them after the example of former ages, and if need were, to call in the military officers to their aid. The arret being read in the senate, Francis Chais and William Armand came to Aix, in the name of the people of Merindole, and presented a petition to the parliament, that the cause might be reheard and examined by a disputation of divines; contending that it was unjust, that before they were convicted, they should confess themselves heretics, or be condemned unheard. La Chassagne, in whose breast his friend's advice had made a deep impression, calling aside the deputies in the presence of the king's advocates, admonished them to acknowledge their error, and not by their excessive obstinacy lay the judges under the necessity of dealing with them more harshly than agreed with their inclinations: but as they still continued to press La Chassagne to take cognizance of their opinions, he at length obtained of those stubborn people, that they should present the heads of their doctrine to the parliament, who would transmit them to his majesty. The townsmen of Cabrieres, in the county of Venaissin, were attacked at the same time by those of Avignon; and, as they were all concerned in the common danger, they drew up a common profession of their religion, resembling Luther's in most points, and sent one copy to Francis, who put it into the hands of Chastellain to be examined by him, and another to Cardinal James Sadolet, bishop of Carpentras; who, being of a pious and mild disposition, received the suppliants with great humanity, and ingenuously declared, that whatever else they were charged with, beyond what was contained in that book, were mere slanders invented to create them ill-will; for that after a thorough inquiry he had gained a perfect knowledge of that matter: but that in the book which was offered, there seemed to be many things which might be mended by a small alteration, and others, reflecting upon the Pope and the prelates, which might be corrected by a

more temperate style; that however he wished them well, and that it would never be with his good liking, if they were treated in a hostile manner; and that he would repair, by the first opportunity, to his seat at Cabrieres, and examine the whole affair upon the spot. Besides these expressions, he showed them real marks of a favourable and sincere regard, by repressing the deputy of Avignon, who was advancing with an armed force, and admonishing him to retire. The confession of the people of Merindole being exhibited, by a decree of parliament, John Durandi and the Bishop of Cavaillon, with some other divines, went to Merindole, to convince the poor villagers of their error, and to grant a pardon to such as should, upon oath, renounce it: but although they continued in their obstinate spirit of opposition, yet, as long as Chassagne lived, no violence was employed against them, because the king had taken to himself the cognizance of the whole matter: but when he was carried off by a sudden death, and succeeded by John Meinier, baron Oppede, (a vehement man, and one, who for certain affronts received from the people of Cabrieres, to whom some of his farms were adjoining, was their bitter enemy,) the hatred against the Waldenses was renewed. This nobleman, in the absence of Lewis des Emars, count of Grignan, who had been sent by the king to the diet of Worms, took upon himself the chief command in Provence, and assured Francis, by letters, that the Waldenses were met together to the number of sixteen thousand men, with a design to seize Marseilles, and to raise commotions in Provence. He also sent Philip Courtin, apparitor of the court, to demand, in the name of the king's advocate, that the judgment given against the rebels might be put in execution. The king, exasperated by this information, and being further instigated by the Cardinal De Tournon, a kinsman to Grignan, and a bitter enemy to this sort of men, sent letters to the parliament, in the month of January, in the year 1545, whereby he permitted them to proceed against the Merindolians and the

rest of the Waldenses, according to law: and when the states of the empire, by their letters from Ratisbon, and the Protestant Swiss cantons were urgent, that not only the penalty, but the condition of acknowledging their error might be remitted, because thereby force was offered to resolution and conscience, he constantly denied their request; and when afterwards he was pressed by them to be merciful to the dispersed remains of these people, he bluntly answered, that they ought not to trouble themselves with what he did in his own country, or how he punished delinquents, any more than he concerned himself with their affairs. Meinier, therefore, having received those orders, kept them by him for some time, in expectation of a fairer opportunity: for in the mean-while levies were made every where under the pretence of the English war, and he would not suffer the secret to be divulged, that so he might fall upon them unawares. But when things were in readiness, and he had under severe penalties summoned all those who were capable of bearing arms at Aix, Arles, Marseilles, and other populous towns, to come into the field; and when six companies of foot, with a squadron of horse, commanded by Poulain, and other auxiliary troops from Piedmont and Avignon were already assembled, the royal letters which had been hitherto suppressed, were read in parliament: whereupon the senators, upon the 12th of April, decreed the execution of the sentence passed upon the people of Merindole; and the business was committed to the president, Francis de la Fons, with the counsellors Honoré de Tributis, and Bernard de Badet, to whom was joined Nicholas Guerin the king's advocate, and principal incendiary of the war. Oppede, the day following, accompanied with a great body of nobles, repaired to the army at Cadenet, bringing with him four hundred pioneers. The first attack was made upon the country adjoining to the town of Pertuys; the villages of Pupin, La Mote, and St. Martin, near the Durance; these were taken, pillaged, and set on fire. On the following day the little

towns of Ville-Laure, Lourmarin, Gensson, Trezeminés, and La Roque, from whence the multitude had fled, were cruelly burnt, and all the cattle driven away. Then Oppède consulted about attacking Merindole; but when the inhabitants saw the country round about in flames, they fled into the neighbouring woods with their wives and children; which exhibited a most lamentable spectacle, for in those by-ways were to be seen marching old men mixed with boys, and women carrying their crying infants in cradles, or in their arms or laps. They rested the first night at Sanfalaïse, where also the inhabitants were preparing all things for a flight, because they knew that the Bishop of Cavaillon, the Pope's legate, had ordered his men to massacre them. The next day they advanced farther under the security of the thick woods, full of fears from every other quarter: for Oppède had outlawed the Waldenses, and had ordered, under pain of death, that none should give them any relief, but that, wherever they were found, they should (without respect to age or sex) be all murdered. And now, after an excessively long journey, they had reached their appointed station, the women being hardly able to stand under the burthen of their big bellies, or children; and many others, who had left their habitations, had flocked together at the same place, when towards night they were informed that Meinier was at hand with all his forces. Hereupon they were obliged to take counsel on a sudden; and leaving there the women and all the feeble part of their company, whom they imagined the enemy would spare, put themselves again on the way, whilst nothing could be heard but the most dismal groans, with the lamentations and screamings of the women, which were re-echoed by the mountains and woods, and all things were in the utmost hurry and confusion. When they had spent the whole night in travelling, at last climbing over mount Lubières, and seeing the villages every where in flames and the farms deserted, they proceeded to the town of Mus: here Oppède divided his troops into two parts, one of which

he sent to pursue the fugitives, for he had been informed of their flight by certain spies, and the other he took with him to Merindole. At that juncture one of Oppede's men, touched with compassion, ran before, and from the top of the rock, where he guessed the Merindolians were settled, flung down two stones, and in the interval called out to them with a miserable voice, to save themselves by flight : immediately some persons went out of Mu's, to order the pastor and the guides, who were left with the unarmed multitude, to escape, showing them a by-way through the brambles ; and not long after Oppede's men appeared, and full of rage, with drawn swords, demanded the slaughter of the whole company ; they were preparing to use the women in a still viler manner, but were hindered by a captain, who threatened them with death, if they did not forbear : so after they had stripped them and drove away their cattle, they departed. Oppede entered the town of Merindole, now destitute of inhabitants, and finding there only one youth, Maurice Blanc by name, wreaked upon him that fury, which he could not vent upon the whole body of the people ; and, tying him to an olive tree, ordered him to be cruelly shot to death : then, burning and demolishing the town, he marched straightway to Cabrieres. When the townsmen, of whom no more than sixty, with about thirty women, were left in the place, had at first shut their gates against him, some great guns were brought down, upon which they surrendered on a promise, confirmed by Poulain and the lord of the place, of having their lives saved ; but when the garrison was admitted they were all seized, even they who lay hid in the dungeon of the castle, or thought themselves secured by the sacredness of the church ; and being dragged out from thence into a hollow meadow, were put to death, without regard to age or the assurance given : the number of the slain, within and without the town, amounted to eight hundred : the women, by the command of Oppede, were thrust into a barn filled with straw, and fire being set to it, when they endeavoured

to leap out of the window, they were pushed by poles and spikes, and miserably suffocated and consumed in the flames. Thence they proceeded to La Coste, the lord of which place having passed his word to the townsmen for their safety, provided they carried their arms into the castle, and broke down their walls in four places; the credulous people did as they were commanded, notwithstanding which, on the arrival of Oppede, the suburbs being burnt and the town taken, all that were found left in the place were murdered to a man. The women who, to avoid the first fury of the soldiers, had retired into a garden near the castle, were deflowered, and, after the rage of lust was extinguished, handled in so cruel a manner, that most of those who were with child, and even the virgins, died either of grief, or by hunger and torments. The men, who sheltered themselves at Mus, being at length discovered, underwent the same fate with the others: the remainder of them, wandering here and there among the woods and solitary mountains, led a wretched life, deprived both of wives and children; some few escaped, partly to Geneva, and partly to the Swiss cantons. In all there are twenty-two villages reckoned, which were punished with the last severity by Oppede; by whose authority judges were again selected, to make inquiry after the heretics; and these condemned the rest of those poor wretches either to the galleys, or to the payment of excessive fines. Some, indeed, were absolved; and among these the tenants of Cental, who solemnly abjured their error. When these things were done, Oppede and the committee of judges, being terrified by their consciences, and justly apprehending that one time or other their heads might be endangered by those practices, deputed the president De la Fons to the king, to load the slaughtered and harassed people with the most execrable crimes, and to make it appear, that, considering the heinousness of their offence, they had been very gently treated. He accordingly, on the 18th day of August, by the suggestions (as it is thought) of the Cardinal De Tournon,

obtained an instrument from the king, wherein he seemed to approve the punishment which was taken of those guilty persons ; of which however he afterwards repented. Many writers have reported, that, among the last commands which he gave to his son Henry, he added this expressly, that he should make inquisition into the injuries done in that cause by the parliament of Aix to the Provençals : and, even before he died, he caused John Romano, a monk, to be apprehended, and commanded the parliament of Aix to punish him ; for he, in the examination of heretics, invented a new kind of torture, ordering the tortured parties to put on boots full of boiling tallow, and after laughing at them, and clapping on a pair of spurs, he would ask them, whether they were not finely equipt for a journey. But this man, being well informed of the decree of the parliament, fled to Avignon ; where, though secured, as he imagined, from men, he did not escape the divine vengeance, being robbed of all his effects by his servants, and reduced to extreme poverty, whilst his body was so overrun with filthy boils, that he wished for death, which yet he did not obtain until very late, and after the most horrible torments.

Upon the death, therefore, of Francis, when the Cardinal de Tournon and the Count de Grignan, who had long flourished in the king's favour, were violently hated by those who were placed about the new king ; the Merindolians and Waldenses, who knew of their disgrace, gathering together their remains into a body, formed a complaint of the injustice and cruelty of the parliament of Aix, and, out of spite to them, easily obtained to have their cause heard over again. The Duke of Guise was their principal encourager, who procured for himself the county of Grignan under the title of a gift or sale from Lewis des Emars, to exempt him from danger. For though all things had been acted in the count's absence, as we mentioned, yet because they were said to be done by Oppede his lieutenant, and by his order, he also himself was brought into a share of peril. The matter was first debated in the great council, as

it is called : afterwards when Oppede, De la Fons, De Tributiis, Badet, and Guerin, being called upon to answer, they defended themselves by the plea of a sentence past, against the execution whereof the royal advocate had not appealed ; at length, by a new arret of the 17th day of March, the king took the cause into his own cognizance. And because the question concerned the force and authority of the supreme court of Aix, he committed the hearing both of the matter itself, and of the appeals, to the grand chamber of the parliament of Paris ; where the cause was publicly managed, with great contention, and before a large concourse of people, for fifty days, by James Aubry on the part of the Merindolians, Peter Robert for the parliament of Aix, and Denys de Ryants for the king's advocate. When, upon the mention of so many horrid facts, of which the defendants were accused, the minds of all men were in the utmost attention and expectation of the issue, they were entirely disappointed of their hopes, Guerin alone, who happened to be destitute of friends at court, suffering the punishment of death. Oppede, who with De Grignan escaped by the intercession of the Duke of Guise, was restored to his former post, together with his colleagues : but, in a little time, being grievously afflicted with pains in the bowels, he breathed out his sanguinary soul in the midst of the most cruel torments, and paid the deserved penalty, which his judges had not exacted, late indeed, but therefore so much the heavier, to God.*

Such is the relation of this dreadful scene of cruelty, oppression and carnage—detailed not by the poor persecuted Waldenses themselves, but by a Catholic historian, whose impartiality and rigid adherence to truth has never been questioned *except by his own party*.

* *Thuani Historia sui temporis*, lib. VI.

SECTION III.

A view of the conduct of the court of Rome, and the operation of its favourite instrument, the Inquisition, about the middle of the sixteenth century, including details of the horrid cruelties exercised towards the friends of reform, particularly in Spain and the Netherlands.

A. D. 1550—1570.

HAVING devoted a former section to the purpose of tracing the rise, spirit, operation, and progress of that infernal instrument of cruelty, known by the name of the Inquisition; that we may not wholly lose sight of the influence of this engine of spiritual despotism, we shall, for a moment, suspend the immediate narrative of the Waldenses in France and Piedmont, in order that we may take a cursory view of the state of affairs, in reference to religion, in Spain and the Netherlands, at the period at which we are now arrived, namely, about twenty years after the Reformation by Luther.

It is scarcely necessary for me to state, that, in the succession of kings by whom Spain had been governed for about the space of three hundred years, the Popes of Rome had generally found a race of obsequious princes, seldom reluctant to yield their concurrence with any measures that might be proposed for the destruction of heretics. But it was now the misfortune of that country to possess a monarch whose zeal for the extirpation of heretical pravity, surpassed even that of Popes and cardinals. This monarch was Philip II., son of the Emperor Charles V., and of Isabella, daughter of Immanuel the great, King of Portugal. He was born on the 27th of May, 1527, and educated in Spain, under ecclesiastics noted for their bigotry, which may account for several of those features in his character that afterwards appeared so prominently in his conduct.

He was the most powerful monarch of the age; for, besides the government of Spain, he possessed the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; the dutchy of Milan, Franche Compté, and the Netherlands, or, as they were then generally termed, the Low Countries.

These provinces, which, on account of their situation, are called the Netherlands, had been long governed by their respective princes, under the titles of dukes, marquisses, or counts; and under the administration of the princes of the house of Burgundy, they had flourished in trade, commerce, and manufactures, beyond any other European state. No city, in those days, except Venice, possessed such extensive commerce as Antwerp. It was the great mart of all the northern nations. Bruges was little inferior; and in the city of Ghent there were many thousand artificers employed in the woollen manufacture, long before the art was known to the English, from whom the wool was purchased by the industrious Flemings.

In consequence of the constant intercourse which subsisted between Germany and the Netherlands, we may naturally suppose that the doctrines of the Reformers would be early propagated from the former to the latter country; and, accordingly, in the month of May, 1521, even before the days of Philip, his father, the Emperor Charles V., had published an edict, in which all the penalties of high treason were pronounced against heretics. In the execution of this edict, which Charles, from time to time, renewed, all the fury of persecution was exercised; and it is affirmed by several cotemporary historians, that, during his reign, fifty thousand of the inhabitants of the Netherlands were put to death on account of their religious principles.* Those principles, however, far from being extirpated, became more generally propagated and diffused amidst the severities which were employed to suppress them.

* F. Paul's History of the Council of Trent, b. v. Grotius doubles the number!

Before the Emperor Charles V. had resigned the reins of government to his son Philip, great numbers of his subjects had begun to retire from the provinces of the Netherlands and to transport their families and effects to the neighbouring states; and when he was informed of this, by the regent, who was his sister, and queen dowager of Hungary, his heart relented for the calamities of his people, and he dreaded the consequences of depopulating a country from which he had often received the most effectual assistance and support. But these considerations had no influence on his son Philip. He republished the edicts of his father, and ordered the governors and magistrates to carry them into rigorous execution.

In these edicts it was enacted, that all persons who held erroneous opinions in religion, should be deprived of their offices, and degraded from their rank. It was ordained, that whoever should be convicted of having taught heretical doctrines, or of having been present at the religious meetings of heretics, should, if they were men, be put to death by the sword; and if women, be burned alive. Such were the punishments denounced even against those who repented of their errors and forsook them; while all who persisted in them were condemned to the flames. And even those who afforded shelter to heretics, in their houses, or who omitted to give information against them, were subjected to the same penalties as heretics themselves.

But Philip could not content himself with publishing and executing these cruel edicts. He also established a particular tribunal for the extirpation of heresy, which, although it was not called by the name Inquisition, had all the essentials of that iniquitous institution. Persons were committed to prison upon bare suspicion, and put to the torture on the slightest evidence. The accused were not confronted with their accusers, or made acquainted with the crimes for which they suffered. The civil judges were not allowed to take any farther concern in prosecutions for heresy, than to execute the sentences which the inquisitors

pronounced. The possessions of the sufferers were confiscated; and informers were encouraged, by an assurance of impunity in case they themselves were guilty, and by the promise of rewards.*

That the establishment of this arbitrary tribunal should have excited considerable commotion in the Netherlands, can occasion no surprise. It had created disturbances even in Spain and Italy, where civil liberty was not enjoyed in the measure that it was in the Netherlands. Among the Flemings, therefore, it excited the most terrible apprehensions: they considered it as utterly subversive of their liberty. But to the grievances already enumerated, the inhabitants of the Netherlands further complained that the provinces were filled with Spanish soldiers, whose insolent and rapacious behaviour was intolerable. And to all these causes of discontent, Philip added another by increasing the number of bishopricks from five to seventeen, which was the number of the provinces. These new bishops were regarded as so many new inquisitors, and their creation was considered as an encroachment on the privileges of the provinces, and a violation, on the part of the king, of the oath which he had taken at his accession, to preserve the church in the condition in which he found it. Such was the state of affairs, when Philip, who had for some time taken up his residence among his subjects in the Netherlands, proposed, in the year 1559, to quit the country and fix the seat of his government in Spain. During his absence the government of the Netherlands was conferred upon the Dutchess of Parma, who was a natural daughter of the late emperor, and who sustained the title of Regent.

As Philip did not intend to return speedily to the Netherlands, he thought proper, before his departure, to summon a convention of the states, which was accordingly held at Ghent. He himself was present, accompanied by

* Grotius, *Annales*, lib. i.

the new regent, at the first opening of the assembly; but as he could not speak the language of the country, he employed the Bishop of Arras to address the deputies in his name. Among other things, the latter was instructed earnestly to exhort the states to study to preserve the public peace; and to this end he thought nothing could conduce so much, as *the extirpation of heresy*, which, whilst it set men at variance with God, put arms into their hands against their civil sovereign. They were, therefore, strenuously exhorted to maintain the purity of their ancient faith; and for this purpose, to execute vigorously the several edicts published for the suppression of heresy.

The reply of the deputies of the states to this speech, contained the warmest sentiments of loyalty, but it was also accompanied with intimations, that they had expected the foreign troops would have been immediately transported to Spain,—that they were unable to discover any reason for keeping them any longer in the Netherlands, but such as filled their minds with terror. Their suspicion that the inquisition was about to be established in the Netherlands, excited the most disquieting apprehensions. Some of the deputies did not scruple to remonstrate openly, that the Netherlands had never been accustomed to an institution of so much rigour and severity: that the people trembled at the very name of the inquisition, and would fly to the remotest corners of the earth rather than submit to it; that it was not by fire and the sword, but by the gentlest and softest remedies, that the evil complained of must be cured. Various representations of this kind were addressed to the king himself by some of the deputies, who endeavoured to persuade him at least to moderate the edicts, if he would not entirely annul them; but on this head Philip was inexorable. And when one of his ministers reported, that, by persisting in the execution of those edicts, he might kindle the seeds of rebellion, and thereby lose the sovereignty of the provinces; he replied, “That he had much

rather be no king at all, than have heretics for his subjects.”*

His religion was, of all superstitions, the most intolerant; his temper of mind, which was naturally haughty and severe; his pride, which would have been wounded by yielding to what he had repeatedly declared he would never yield; his engagements with the Pope, and an oath which he had taken to devote his reign to the defence of the Popish faith and the extirpation of heresy; above all, his thirst for despotic power, with which he considered the liberties claimed in religious matters by the Protestants as utterly incompatible; all these united causes, rendered him deaf to the remonstrances which were made to him, and fixed him unalterably in his resolution to execute the edicts with the utmost rigour. He showed himself equally inflexible with regard to the new bishopricks; nor would he consent, at this time, to withdraw the Spanish soldiers. In order, however, to lessen the odium arising from his refusal, he offered the command of these troops to the Prince of Orange and Count Egmont, the two ablest and most popular nobleman in the Netherlands; the former of whom he had appointed governor of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht; and the latter of Artois and Flanders. Both of them declined accepting of the offer which was made to them, and had the courage to declare, that they considered the continuance of the troops in the Low Countries, after peace had been established in France, as a violation of the fundamental laws of the constitution.

The Prince of Orange, so well known in history by the name of William the First, was the representative of the ancient and illustrious family of Nassau in Germany. From his ancestors, one of whom had been Emperor of Germany, he inherited several rich possessions in the Netherlands; and he had succeeded to the principality of

* Bentivoglio, lib. i, p. 9, 10.

Orange by the will of René Nassau and Chalons, his cousin-german, in the year 1544. From that time the late Emperor had kept him perpetually about his person, and had early discovered in him all those extraordinary talents which rendered him afterwards one of the most illustrious personages of the age.

It does not appear, that, before the assembly of the states, Philip had any just ground for his suspicions of William's conduct; and there is only one circumstance recorded to which they can be ascribed. The prince having been sent to France as a hostage for the execution of some articles of the peace of Chateau-Cambresis, had, during his residence there, discovered a scheme formed by the French and Spanish monarchs for the extirpation of the Protestants. This scheme he had communicated to such of his friends in the Netherlands as had embraced the reformed religion, and from that time the king ceased to treat him with his wonted confidence.*

On the 20th of August, 1559, Philip set sail from the Netherlands with a fleet of seventy ships, and on the 29th arrived at Loredon, in the province of Biscay. He reached the port in safety, but no sooner had he landed, than a dreadful storm arose, in which a part of his fleet was shipwrecked; above a thousand men perished, and a great number of capital paintings, statues, and other curious works of art were lost, which the late Emperor, Charles, had been employed, during forty years, in collecting, in Germany, Italy, and Flanders. Philip thought he could not on this occasion, better express his gratitude for his own personal preservation, than by declaring his resolution to dedicate his life to the defence of the Catholic faith and the extirpation of heresy: and such were the feelings with which he was animated when he entered Spain.

The inquisition had been introduced into Spain about a century before this time, as hath already been noticed in

* Thuanus, tom. i. lib. xxii. sect. 10.

a former section of this work ; and it met with the entire approbation and countenance of Philip, who had imbibed, in all its virulence, that spirit of bigotry and persecution which gave it birth. He regarded heretics as the most odious of criminals ; and considered a departure of his subjects from the Roman superstition, as the most dreadful calamity that could befall them. He was, therefore, determined to support the inquisitors with all his power, and he encouraged them to exert themselves in the exercise of their office with the utmost vigilance. The zeal and diligence of these men corresponded to the ardour with which their sovereign was inflamed ; yet so irresistible was the spirit of inquiry and the force of truth, that the opinions of the Reformers had found their way into Spain, and were embraced openly by great numbers of both sexes, among whom were several priests and nuns.

Before Philip's arrival in the city of Valladolid, an *auto-de-fé* had been celebrated, in which a great number of Protestants had been committed to the flames. There were still in the prisons of the inquisition more than thirty persons, against whom the same dreadful punishment had been denounced. Philip, eager to give public proof as early as possible of his abhorrence of these innovators, desired the inquisitors to fix a day for their execution ; and he resolved to witness it. The dreadful ceremony (more repugnant to humanity, as well as to the spirit of the Christian religion, than the most abominable sacrifices recorded in the annals of the Pagan world) was conducted with the greatest solemnity which the inquisitors could devise ; and Philip, attended by his son Don Carlos, by his sister, and by his courtiers and guards, sat within sight of the unhappy victims. After hearing a sermon from the Bishop of Zamora, he rose from his seat, and having drawn his sword, as a signal, that with *it* he would defend the holy faith, he took an oath administered to him by the inquisitor-general, to support the Inquisition and its ministers against all heretics

and apostates, and to compel his subjects every where to yield obedience to its decrees.

Among the Protestants condemned, there was a nobleman of the name of Don Carlos di Sessa, who when the executioners were conducting him to the stake, called out to the King for mercy, saying, "And canst thou thus, O king! witness the torments of thy subjects? Save us from this cruel death; we do not deserve it." "No," Philip sternly replied, "I would myself carry wood to burn my own son, were he such a *wretch* as thou." After which he beheld the horrid spectacle that followed, with a composure and tranquillity that betokened the most unfeeling heart.

This dreadful severity, joined with certain rigid laws enacted to prevent the importation of Lutheran books, soon produced the desired effect. After the celebration of another *autò-de-fê*, in which about fifty Protestants suffered, all the rest, if there were any who still remained, either concealed their sentiments, or made their escape into foreign parts.*

But though Philip had, for a moment, banished the heretics from his Spanish dominions, he had the mortification to contemplate the rapid progress of heresy in almost every other state in Europe; and, in order to obstruct it, he employed all his influence to procure the convocation of a general council of the church. For several centuries before the Reformation, and for some time after it had been set on foot, the bigotry of the Papists would not suffer them to think of any other means of extirpating the opinions of the Protestants, but persecution; which was exercised against them with the same unrelenting severity, as if they had been guilty of the most atrocious crimes. But it soon appeared how inadequate this barbarous procedure was to accomplish the purpose which the Romanists intended. Those bloody edicts which were published, those fires which

* Watson's History of Philip II. vol. I. b. iv.

were lighted up, and that variety of torments which priests and inquisitors invented with ingenious cruelty, served in reality to propagate the doctrines against which they were employed, and contributed to inflame, rather than extinguish, that ardent zeal with which the Protestants were animated. Being firmly persuaded, that the cause which they maintained, was the cause of God and truth, and that their perseverance would be rewarded with a happy immortality, they courted their punishments instead of avoiding them; and, in bearing them, displayed a degree of fortitude and patience, which, by exciting admiration in the beholders, produced innumerable proselytes to the faith for which they suffered.

Several princes had been converted to that faith. In some states the Protestants had become more numerous and powerful than their opponents; and in others, their opinions so generally prevailed, that the Catholic princes found it no longer possible to extirpate them, without depriving themselves of great multitudes of their most industrious subjects, on whom the wealth and importance of their states depended. The time when persecution might have proved effectual was past, and the princes came at length to perceive the necessity of having recourse to some more gentle means than had been hitherto employed. They were, at the same time sensible, notwithstanding their prejudices against the Reformers, that some reformation was extremely necessary; they had long borne with great impatience the numberless encroachments of the court of Rome, and were convinced, that if some abuses were removed, it would not be impracticable to persuade many of the Protestants to return into the bosom of the church.

A general council appeared to be the only expedient by which this important end could be obtained; and the late Emperor Charles had taken infinite pains to procure the convocation of that assembly. In former times the councils of the church had been convened by the emperors

themselves ; but, in the time of Charles, the power of calling them was, by all true Catholics, considered as the peculiar prerogative of the Popes ; who dreaded, that such assemblies might derogate from their usurped authority, and were therefore inclined, if possible, to prevent them from being held. With the timid Clement, Charles employed all his art and influences to procure a council, but in vain. Paul the Third was no less averse to this measure than Clement ; but the emperor being seconded by almost all the Catholic princes in Europe, Paul yielded to their importunities, and summoned a council to meet in Trent. From this place it was afterwards translated to Bologna. After the death of Paul it was again assembled in Trent, in 1551, and continued to be held there till the year following ; when it was prorogued for two years, upon war being declared against the Emperor by the Elector of Saxony.

In the sessions which were held under Paul, that fundamental tenet of the Reformers, by which the writings of the evangelists and apostles are held to be the only rule of the Christian faith, was condemned ; and equal authority was ascribed to the books termed Apocryphal, and to the oral traditions of the church. From the manner in which the deliberations of this assembly were conducted ; from the nature of its decisions, and from the blind attachment of a great majority of its members to the court of Rome, there was little ground to hope for the attainment of those ends for which the calling of it had been so earnestly desired. But no other expedient could be devised, which the Catholics thought so likely to stop the progress of heresy ; and, therefore, as soon as the war between France and Spain was concluded, the several Catholics began to think seriously of the restoration of the council.

The state of Europe at that time seemed, more than ever, to require the application of some immediate remedy. The power and number of the Protestants were every day becoming more and more considerable. Both England

and Scotland had disclaimed allegiance to the See of Rome, and new-modelled their religion. In the Netherlands the Reformers had greatly multiplied of late, notwithstanding the most dreadful cruelties had been exercised against them; and in France, where every province was involved in the most terrible combustion, there was ground to apprehend, that they would soon become too powerful for the Catholics, and be able to wrest from them the reins of government. The new opinions had penetrated even into Italy, and had been embraced by a considerable number of persons both in Naples and Savoy. From the former of these states they were extirpated by the unrelenting severity of Philip; who issued orders to his viceroy to put all heretics to death without mercy, and even to pursue with fire and sword a remnant of them who had fled from Cosenza, and were living quietly among the mountains.*

But the Duke of Savoy, unwilling to deprive himself of so great a number of useful subjects as had been converted to the Protestant faith, was inclined to attempt to enlighten and convince them; and with this view he desired the Pope's permission to hold a colloquy of the principal ecclesiastics in his dominions, on the subject of religion. Pius was about the same time informed, that in France a resolution had been embraced to have recourse to the same expedient. He believed that no measure could be devised more likely to prove fatal to that exclusive prerogative which he claimed of judging in matters of religion. He dreaded that the example of France and Savoy would be quickly followed by other states, and the decrees of provincial synods substituted in the place of those of the Holy See. It highly concerned him, therefore, to prevent this measure (so pernicious to his authority) from taking place. Nor did he find much difficulty in dissuading the Duke of Savoy from adopting it. "If the heretics," said he to the Duke's ambassador, "stand in need of instruction, I will

* F. Paul, lib. v. j

send divines and a legate, by whom they may be both instructed and absolved. But your master will find, that they will lend a deaf ear to all the instructions that can be given them, and will put no other interpretation upon his conduct, but that he wants power to compel them to submit. No good effect was ever produced by that lenity which he inclines to exercise; but from experience he may learn, that the sooner he shall execute justice on these men, and make use of force to reduce them, the more certain will be his success; and if he will comply with the counsel which I offer, he shall receive from me such assistance as will enable him to carry it into execution." The duke, who was sincerely attached to the Roman faith, and closely connected with Philip, unfortunately complied with this violent counsel, and engaged in a bloody war with his Protestant subjects, of which he had afterwards the greatest reason to repent.

But to return to the state of affairs in the Netherlands: the seeds of discord which were sown in that unhappy country in the beginning of the reign of Philip II., continued to approximate towards maturity. At his departure from among them he had given strict orders to the regent to enforce a rigorous execution of his edicts, and the persecutions were, accordingly, carried on as formerly. The council of Trent had published its decrees, and Philip resolved to have them obeyed throughout all his dominions. The disturbances which subsisted in the Low Countries, ought to have deterred him from adding fuel to a flame which already burnt with so much violence. But his bigotry, together with his arbitrary maxims of government, rendered him averse to every mild expedient, and determined him to enforce obedience to the decrees in the Netherlands, as well as in Spain and Italy. When the regent laid his instructions on this head before the council of state, she found the counsellors much divided in their opinions. The Prince of Orange maintained, that the regent could not require the people of the Netherlands to receive

the decrees, because several of them were contrary to the fundamental laws of the constitution. He represented that some Catholic princes had thought proper to reject them; and proposed that a remonstrance should be made to the king on the necessity of recalling his instructions.

“Let us not, by our misrepresentations,” said he, “make him believe the number of heretics to be smaller than it is. Let us acquaint him, that every province, every town, every village is full of them. Let us not conceal from him how much they despise the edicts, and how little they respect the magistrates; that he may see how impracticable it is to introduce the Inquisition, and be convinced that the remedy which he would have us to apply, would be infinitely worse than the disease.” He added, “That although he was a true Catholic, and a faithful subject of the king, yet he thought the calamities which had been lately experienced in France and Germany, afforded a sufficient proof that the consciences of men were not to be compelled, and that heresy was not to be extirpated by fire and sword, but by reasoning and persuasion; to which it was in vain to expect that men would be brought to listen, until the present practice of butchering them like beasts was wholly laid aside.” He represented likewise the absurdity of publishing, on this occasion, the decrees of the council of Trent, and proposed that Count Egmont should be instructed to request the king to suspend the publication of them till the present tumults were allayed.

Many of the other nobles set on foot, at this time, a confederacy, by which they bound themselves to support one another, in preventing the Inquisition from being established in the Netherlands. The prime mover of this expedient was Philip de Marnix, Lord of St. Aldegonde, a nobleman highly distinguished for his eloquence, his address, and his political abilities, who had the merit of contributing more than any other person (the Prince of Orange alone excepted) towards accomplishing that happy revolution, by which the northern provinces were rescued from

the Spanish yoke. By his advice, and according to his direction, a writing was drawn up, termed the *Compromise*, which is here inserted, as it marks strongly the spirit by which the people of the Netherlands were animated.

“Whereas certain malicious persons, under the cloak of zeal for the Catholic religion, but in reality prompted by ambition, pride, and avarice, have, by their misrepresentations, persuaded our lord the king to introduce into these provinces that most pernicious tribunal, the Inquisition; which is not only contrary to all human and divine laws, but exceeds in cruelty the most barbarous institutions of the most savage tyrants in the heathen world; which subjects all authority to that of the inquisitors, reduces all men to a perpetual state of miserable slavery, and by the visitations which it appoints, exposes the best men to continual apprehensions; so that if a priest, a Spaniard, or wicked minion of power shall incline, he may, by means of this institution, accuse any man, however innocent, and cause him to be imprisoned, condemned, and put to death, without being confronted with his accusers, and without being allowed to bring evidence of his innocence, or to speak in his defence: for these reasons we whose names are here subscribed have resolved to provide for the security of our families, goods, and persons; and for this purpose we hereby enter into a sacred league with one another, promising with a solemn oath, to oppose with all our power, the introduction of the above-named Inquisition into these provinces; whether it shall be attempted openly or secretly, and by whatever name it shall be called, whether that of Inquisition, Visitation, Commission, or Edict: declaring at the same time, that we are far from entertaining the design of attempting any thing prejudicial to the interest of our sovereign the king; but, on the contrary, that our fixed intention is, to support and defend his government, to maintain peace, and to prevent, to the utmost of our power, all seditions, tumults, and revolts. This agreement we have sworn, and we hereby promise and

swear, to maintain it for ever sacred; and we call Almighty God to witness, that neither in word or deed shall we ever weaken or counteract it.

“We likewise promise and swear, mutually to defend one another, in all places, and on all occasions, against every attack that shall be made, or prosecution that shall be raised, against any individual amongst us, on account of his concern in this confederacy; and we declare, that no pretence of the persecutors, who may allege rebellion, insurrection, or any other plea, shall exempt us from this our oath and promise. No action can deserve the name of rebellion, that proceeds from opposition to the iniquitous decrees of the Inquisition; and, therefore, whether any of us be attacked directly on account of opposing these decrees, or under pretence of punishing rebellion or insurrection, we hereby swear to endeavour, by all lawful means, to procure his deliverance.

“In this and every part of our conduct regarding the Inquisition, our meaning is, to submit to the general opinion of our confederates, or to that of those who shall be appointed by the rest to assist us with their counsel.

“In witness of this our league, we invoke the holy name of the living God, as the searcher of our hearts; humbly beseeching him to grant us the grace of his Holy Spirit, and that all our enterprises may be attended with success, may promote the honour of his name, contribute to the welfare of our souls, and advance the peace and true interest of the Netherlands.”

Such were the terms of the compromise, which was quickly circulated through the provinces, and subscribed by persons of all ranks, whether Catholics or Protestants. Books were, at the same time, multiplied, in which liberty of conscience was pleaded, the absurdities in the popish doctrines and worship exposed, and hideous pictures drawn of the Inquisition.

The regent felt great anxiety with regard to the consequences with which so much ill-humour and discontent

were likely to be attended. She had never fully credited the representations which the Prince of Orange and some of her other counsellors had often made to her; and she now complained bitterly of the situation to which she was reduced by the orders sent from Spain. "For to what purpose was it," she said, "to publish edicts, when I wanted power to enforce their execution? They have served only to increase the people's audacity, and to bring my authority into contempt."

The Prince of Orange, and the Counts Horn and Egmont, had, ever since the last republication of the edicts, absented themselves from the council. The regent now wrote to them in the most urgent manner, requiring their attendance. They readily complied; and the regent, after having informed them of her design in calling them together, desired they would deliver their opinions without reserve. The Prince of Orange was among the last who rose, and he spoke as follows:

"Would to Heaven I had been so fortunate as to gain belief when I ventured to foretell what has now happened. Desperate remedies would not, in that case, have been first applied, nor persons who had fallen into error been confirmed in it, by the means employed to reclaim them. We should not certainly think favourably of a physician's prudence, who, in the beginning of a disease, when gentle remedies were likely to prove effectual, should propose the burning or cutting off the part infected. There are two species of inquisition. The one is exercised in the name of the Pope, and the other has been long practised by the bishops. To the latter, men are, in some measure, reconciled by the power of custom; and considering how well we are now provided with bishops in all the provinces, it may reasonably be expected that this sort will alone be found sufficient. The former has been, and will forever be, an object of abhorrence, and ought to be abolished without delay.

"With respect to those edicts which have been so often published against the innovators in religion, hearken not to

me, but to your own experience, which will inform you, that the persecutions to which they have given rise, have served only to increase and propagate the errors against which they have been exercised. The Netherlands have, for several years, been a school, in which, if we have not been extremely inattentive, we may have learned the folly of persecution. Men do not for nothing forego the advantages of life; much less do they expose themselves to torture and death for nothing. The contempt of death and pain, exhibited by heretics in suffering for their religion, is calculated to produce the most powerful effects on the minds of spectators. It works on their compassion, it excites their admiration of the sufferers, and creates in them a suspicion, that truth must certainly be found where they observe so much constancy and fortitude. Heretics have been treated with the same severity in France and England as in the Low Countries. But has it been attended with better success? On the contrary, is there not reason, there as well as here, to say what was said of the Christians of old, That the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church. The Emperor Julian, the most formidable enemy that Christianity ever had, was fully sensible of the truth of this. Harassing and tormenting could only serve, he knew, to inflame that ardent zeal which he wanted to extinguish. He had recourse therefore to the expedient of ridicule and contempt; and this he found to be more effectual. The Grecian empire was, at different periods, infected with heresies of various kinds. Ærius taught errors in the reign of Constance; Nestorius in that of Theodosius; Arius in that of Constantine. No such punishments were inflicted, either on the heresiarchs themselves or on their disciples, as are now practised in the Netherlands; and yet where are all those false opinions now, which the first broachers were at so much pains to propagate? Such is the nature of heresy, if it rests, it rusts; but he who rubs it, whets it. Let it be neglected and overlooked, it will soon lose the charm of novelty; and with that, it will lose the greatest part of

its attractive power. But they are not the examples only of heathen princes which I would recommend to the regent's imitation. In complying with my advice, she will tread in the steps of our late glorious Emperor, her father; who, from experience, was convinced, that gentle measures were more likely to prove effectual than severe ones; and, therefore, adopted the former, in preference to the latter, for several years before his resignation.

"The king himself appeared, at a certain period, inclined to make trial of mild expedients. But, through the influence of the bishops and other ecclesiastics, he has changed his views. Let these men answer for their conduct if they can. For my own part, I am entirely satisfied that it is impossible to root out the present evils in the Netherlands by force, without shaking the state from its foundation. I conclude with reminding you of what we have all heard frequently, that the Protestants in the Low Countries have opened a correspondence with those in France. Let us beware of irritating them more than we have already done, lest, by imitating the French Catholics in their severity, we, like them, involve our country in the dreadful miseries of a civil war."

The regent finding that her situation became every day more critical, informed the king of it, who immediately sent the Duke of Alva, a nobleman of the most imperious character, tyrannical and vindictive in the extreme, to execute his pleasure in the Netherlands, armed with full power to punish or to pardon crimes of every sort. He began his administration with publishing a declaration, that a month should be allowed to the reformers for preparing to leave the country, without receiving, during that space, any trouble or molestation, and at the same time he issued secret orders to the inquisitors to proceed immediately in the execution of their edicts with the utmost rigour. To assist and encourage these men in the exercise of their office, he instituted a new council, to which he gave the name of the Council of Tumults, which he appointed to take cognizance

of the late disorders, and to search after and punish all those who had been concerned, directly or indirectly, in promoting them. This council consisted of twelve persons, the greatest part of whom were Spaniards. The duke was the president himself, and, in his absence, Vargas, a Spanish lawyer, distinguished above all his countrymen by his avarice and cruelty.

One of the first deeds of this tribunal, which might well be called, as the Flemings termed it, the Council of Blood, was to declare, That to have presented or subscribed any petition against the late erection of bishopricks, or against the edicts or Inquisition, or to have permitted the exercise of the new religion under any pretence whatever ; or to insinuate by word of mouth or writing, that the king has no right to abolish those pretended privileges which have been the source of so much impiety, is treason against the king, and justly merits the severest punishment he shall be pleased to inflict.

The governor had already stationed his army in such a manner as he thought would most effectually secure the execution of this cruel, undistinguishing resolution of the council. In Antwerp he built a citadel, and compelled the inhabitants to defray the expense which this instrument of their own slavery had cost him. He began to build citadels in other places ; and, in the mean-time, he spread his troops over the country in such formidable bodies, that the people, over whom they exercised the most oppressive tyranny, either forsook their habitations, or gave themselves up to despair. Above twenty thousand persons escaped, at this time, into France, England, and the Protestant provinces of Germany. Great numbers were prevented from flying, and seized whilst they were meditating flight, by the cruel hand of the persecutor. The innocent were overwhelmed with horror at the sight of the dreadful punishments inflicted on the guilty ; and lamented that this once flourishing country, so much distinguished for the mildness of its government and the happiness of its people, should

now present no other object to view, but confiscations, imprisonments, and blood.

There was no distinction made of age, sex, or condition. Persons in their earliest youth; persons worn out, and ready to sink under the infirmities of age; persons of the highest rank, as well as the lowest of the people, on the slightest evidence, sometimes even on bare suspicion, were alike sacrificed to the rapacity and cruelty of the governor and his associates.

Although in the space of a few months upwards of eighteen hundred persons suffered by the hand of the executioner; yet the Duke of Alva's thirst of blood was not satiated. Prisoners were not brought in so fast, nor seized in such considerable numbers, as he desired. The time of Carnival was approaching, when he expected that he should find the Reformers off their guard. They would then leave their skulking-place, he supposed, and visit their families, while the Catholics were immersed in mirth and dissipation. On this occasion his soldiers, accompanied by the inquisitors, like so many wolves, were let loose among the Protestants; who were seized in the middle of the night in their beds, and from thence dragged to prisons and dungeons.

Many who had been only once present at the Protestant assemblies, even although they declared their faith in the Catholic religion to be firm and unshaken, were hanged or drowned: while those who professed themselves to be Protestants, or refused to abjure their religion, were put to the rack, in order to make them discover their associates; they were then dragged by horses to the place of execution, and their bodies being committed to the flames, their sufferings were prolonged with ingenious cruelty.*

* Should it appear to any, that this section is a digression from the history of the Waldenses, the author flatters himself that he shall find some apology for its introduction, in *the aspect of the present times*—the revival of the lately expiring cause of Antichrist—the restoration of the Society of the Jesuits, and the recent persecution of the Protestants in the South of France. For although the cause of civil and

To prevent them from bearing testimony, in the midst of their torments, to the truth of their profession, their executioners were not satisfied with barely confining their tongues ; they first scorched them with a glowing iron, and then screwed them into a machine, contrived on purpose to produce the most excruciating pain.

It is shocking to recount the numberless instances of inhuman cruelty perpetrated by Alva and his associates, especially when we consider that the unhappy victims were not those hardened wretches, who, by daring and bloody deeds, are guilty of violating the laws of nature and humanity, but were generally persons of the most inoffensive characters ; who, having imbibed the new opinions in religion, had too much probity to disguise their sentiments ; or, at the worst, had been betrayed into indiscretions by their zeal for propagating truths, which they believed to be of the highest importance to the glory of God and the happiness of men.

Alva communicated a great share of his savage spirit to the inferior magistrates ; who knew that they could not recommend themselves more effectually either to the king or to the governor, than by the exercise of rigour and severity. Several of them, however, whose humanity prevailed over the considerations of safety and interest, were induced to give the Protestants timely warning to withdraw. Even the members of the bloody council began to feel their hearts revolt against the reiterated instances of cruelty, to which their sanction was required. Some of them applied for dismissal ; others had the courage to absent themselves ; and out of the twelve, of which the

religious liberty never had a more decided friend, however much he may rejoice to think that it has had many abler advocates ; and though he trusts he shall never act the inconsistent part of wishing to deprive a Catholic of any right or privilege which he would be disposed to claim for himself ; yet he considers it perfectly congenial with this, to do every thing in his power, consistent with truth, and by an impartial *statement of facts*, to inculcate upon his brethren a due consideration of the *persecuting spirit of Popery*.—and to warn them of the insidious artifices of the Jesuitical emissaries of the Court of Rome.

council was composed, there were seldom above three or four present.

About this time the magistrates of Antwerp, whose behaviour from the beginning of Alva's administration had been extremely obsequious, thought they might venture to interpose in favour of certain citizens whom the inquisitors had imprisoned. Their petition was conceived in the humblest terms; and they represented, that although the persons for whom they pleaded, had been present two or three times in the Protestant assemblies, yet it was only curiosity that had led them thither; they were still true sons of the church, and faithful subjects to the king; and they had remained in the country till the time of their imprisonment, on the faith of the declaration which the governor had made, that they should not receive any disturbance on account of what had passed, till the expiration of a month after his arrival in the Netherlands.

To this petition Alva haughtily replied, that he was amazed at their folly in presuming to apply to him in behalf of heretics; and they should have reason, he added, to repent bitterly of their conduct, if they did not act more prudently in future; for they might rest assured, that he would hang them all, for an example to deter others from the like presumption.

Notwithstanding this, some of the Catholic nobility, and Viglius, who had formerly concurred in all the arbitrary measures of Granvelle, but whose heart melted at the present misery of his countrymen, had the courage to remonstrate to the king against the governor's barbarity. Even the Pope exhorted him to greater moderation. Philip, however, refused to countermand the orders which he had given, till he should hear from Vargas; who advised him to persevere in the plan which he had adopted, assured him of its success, and at the same time flattered him with the hopes of an inexhaustible fund of wealth that would arise from confiscation. Vargas being seconded by the inquisitors at Madrid, Philip lent a deaf ear to the remonstrance

which had been made to him, and the persecutions were continued with the same unrelenting fury as before.

The people of the Netherlands were confirmed in their despair of obtaining mercy from Philip, by the accounts transmitted to them, at this time, from Spain, of his cruel treatment of his son Don Carlos. Various relations are given of that tragical and mysterious affair by the cotemporary historians ; but the following appears the most consistent and probable. This young prince had from his earliest youth been noted for the impetuosity and violence of his temper ; and though he never gave reason to think favourably of his understanding, or his capacity for government, he had discovered the most intemperate ambition to be admitted by his father to a share in the administration of his dominions. Philip, whether from jealousy, or a conviction of his son's unfitness for any important trust, refused to gratify his ambition, and behaved towards him with distance and reserve ; while he gave all his confidence to the Duke of Alva, Ruy Gomez de Sylva, and the president Spinosa ; against whom Don Carlos, partly on this account, and partly because he considered them as spies upon his conduct, had conceived the most irreconcilable aversion. In this disposition he did not scruple, on different occasions, to censure the measures of his father's government, and particularly those which had been adopted in the Netherlands. He had sometimes expressed his compassion for the people there ; had threatened the Duke of Alva, and even made an attempt upon his life, for accepting the government ; had been suspected of holding secret interviews with the Marquis of Mons and the Baron de Montigny ; and had afterwards formed the design of retiring into the Netherlands, with an intention to put himself at the head of the malecontents.

Of this design intelligence was carried, by some of the courtiers, to the king ; who, after having consulted with the inquisitors, at Madrid, as he usually did in matters of great importance and difficulty, resolved to prevent the

prince from putting his scheme into execution, by depriving him of his liberty. For this purpose he went into his chamber in the middle of the night attended by some of his privy counsellors and guards ; and, after reproaching him with his undutiful behaviour, told him that he had come to exercise his paternal correction and chastisement. Then having dismissed all his attendants, he commanded him to be clothed in a dark coloured mourning dress, and appointed guards to watch over him, and to confine him to his chamber. The high-spirited young prince was extremely shocked at such unworthy treatment, and prayed his father and his attendants to put an immediate end to his life. He threw himself headlong into the fire, and would have put an end to his life had he not been prevented by the guards. During his confinement, his despair and anguish rose to a degree of frenzy. He would fast sometimes for whole days together, then eat voraciously, and endeavour to choke himself by swallowing his victuals without chewing. Several princes interceded for his release, as did many of the principal Spanish nobles. But his father was relentless and inexorable. After six months imprisonment, he caused the inquisition of Madrid to pass sentence against his son, and, under the cover of that sentence, ordered poison to be given him, which in a few hours put a period to his miserable life, at the age of twenty-three.

Philip had, before this time, given a proof of the cruelty of his disposition ; when, as above related, he chose to be present at the execution of his Protestant subjects in Spain. His singular conduct on that occasion, and the composure with which he beheld the torments of the unhappy sufferers, were ascribed by some to the power of superstition ; while they were regarded by others, as the most convincing evidence of the sincerity of his zeal for the true religion. But his severity towards his son did not admit of any such interpretation. It was considered by all the world as a proof that his heart was dead to the sentiments of natural affec-

tion and humanity; and his subjects were everywhere filled with astonishment. It struck terror, in a particular manner, into the inhabitants of the Low Countries; who saw how vain it was to expect mercy from a prince, who had so obstinately refused to exercise it towards his own son; whose only crime, they believed, was his attachment to them, and his compassion for their calamities.*

SECTION IV.

The history of the Waldenses continued, from the middle of the sixteenth to the beginning of the seventeenth century.

A. D. 1551—1600.

AMONG the distinguished favours which it hath pleased the Father of Lights to confer upon mankind, the invention of the art of printing has been, in its consequences, none of the least beneficial. Before this discovery, learning was accessible to none but persons of princely fortunes; but by this means it was brought within the reach of almost every one; and that information became generally diffused which was necessary to subvert the cause of tyranny and superstition; thus, through the overruling providence of God, the art of printing turned out to be one of the most important events that have happened since the first promulgation of the gospel. Knowledge, which had indeed been gaining ground for some centuries before, was now wonderfully accelerated in its progress. The light acquired by one, was quickly diffused abroad, and communicated to multitudes. The facility of communication brought learning within the reach of the middle ranks—the dead languages became a general object of study—the Scriptures

* Watson's History of Philip II., Vol. I. b. viii.

began to be consulted, not only in the Latin Vulgate, but also in the Greek—reading produced reflection, and thus diffused a light which it was no longer possible to conceal under a bushel. It would have been strange indeed, had the advocates of a system which was founded in ignorance, expressed no apprehensions of alarm at the introduction of these novelties. The faculty of theology at Paris declared before the assembled Parliament, that *religion was undone, if the study of Greek and Hebrew was permitted*. But the language of the monks of those days is still more amusing. We are informed by Conrad of Hereshbach, a very grave and respectable author of that period, that one of their number is said thus to have expressed himself. “They have invented a new language, which they call Greek; you must be carefully on your guard against it; it is the mother of all heresy. I observe in the hands of many persons a book written in that language, which they call the *New Testament*. It is a book full of daggers and poison. As to the Hebrew, my dear brethren, it is certain that all those who learn it immediately become Jews.”*

The art of printing, which originated with John Guttemberg, a citizen of Mentz, was first attempted by him at Strasburg, from 1436 to 1440. His efforts, which were, no doubt, at first very rude and indigested, had been greatly matured by skill and experience in the course of a century; and, consequently, about the year 1535, we find the Waldenses of Piedmont anxious to avail themselves of it, with a view to a more general circulation of the word of life. Hitherto they had been obliged to confine themselves to manuscripts; and, in the *Waldensian tongue*, they seem not to have generally possessed an entire version of the whole Bible, but the New Testament only, and some particular books of the Old. They now, however, contracted with a printer at Neuschatel, in Switzerland, for an entire

* See Villers' Essay on the Reformation, by Luther, translated by Mill, p. 94. note.—And Mr. Cox's Life of Melancthon, p. 29.

impression of the whole Bible in French, for the sum of fifteen hundred crowns of gold. An elaborate preface, somewhat too declamatory for a publication of that kind, was prefixed by Robert Olivetan, who appears to have been one of their number, and who professes to have translated it for the use of the churches. Both Perrin and Sir Samuel Morland affirm this to have been the first French Bible that was printed and published; and on their authority I had so stated the fact in the first edition of this work. But on consulting Du Pin on the Canon, I am now convinced that this is a mistake. The words of the latter are, "The first edition of the French Bible, [printed] in the year 1530, is to be seen in the French king's library; the second, of the year 1534, is larger, and extant in the libraries of St. Germain de Prez, and of St. Genevieve. These two editions are prior to that of Robert Olivetan, [which was] the first done by the Protestants in the year 1535."*

The works of Luther, of Calvin, and others of the reformers, beginning, about this time, to be in general use, they sent Martin Gonin, one of their number, to Geneva, to procure a supply of such books as he should think calculated to promote the instruction of the people. But on his journey he was unfortunately apprehended under suspicion of being a spy; and a discovery being made that he was a Waldensian, he was sent for safety to Grenoble, and there thrown into prison. The inquisitors having been made acquainted with the case, he was, by their advice, cast into the river Lyzere, during the night, for this important reason, as given by the inquisitor, that *it was not expedient the world should hear him declare his faith, lest those who heard him should become worse than himself*.†

It was formerly noticed, that in the year 1560, the Waldenses in Calabria formed a junction with Calvin's church at Geneva. The consequence of this was, that several

* Du Pin on the Canon, &c., Vol. I. p. 217.

† Perrin's Waldenses, b. ii. ch. iv.

pastors or public teachers went from the neighbourhood of Geneva to settle with the churches in Calabria. It seems probable that this circumstance had contributed to revive the profession in Calabria, or at least had brought the Waldenses more into public notice than they had hitherto been; and it spread an alarm among the Catholics, which reached the ears of Pope Pius IV. Measures were, therefore, immediately taken for wholly exterminating the Waldenses in that quarter; and a scene of carnage ensued, which, in enormity, has seldom been exceeded. Two monks were first sent to the inhabitants of St. Xist, who assembled the people, and by a smooth harangue, endeavoured to persuade them to desist from hearing these new teachers, whom they knew they had lately received from Geneva; promising them, in case of compliance, every advantage they could wish; but, on the other hand, plainly intimating that they would subject themselves to be condemned as heretics, and to forfeit their lives and fortunes, if they refused to return to the church of Rome. And at once to bring matters to the test, they caused a bell to be immediately tolled for mass, commanding the people to attend. Instead of complying, however, the Waldenses forsook their houses, and as many as were able fled to the woods, with their wives and children. Two companies of soldiers were instantly ordered out to pursue them, who hunted them like wild beasts, crying, *Amassa, Amassa*, that is, kill, kill! and numbers were put to death. Such as reached the tops of the mountains, procured the privilege of being heard in their own defence. They stated, that they and their forefathers had now for several ages been residents of that country—that during all that period their lives and conversation had been irreproachable—that they ardently wished to remain there, if they should be allowed to continue unmolested in the profession of their faith, but that if this were denied them, they implored their pursuers to have pity on their wives and children, and to permit them to retire, under the providence of God, either by sea or land,

wherever it should please the Lord to conduct them—that they would very cheerfully sacrifice all their worldly possessions rather than fall into idolatry. They, therefore, entreated, in the name of all that was sacred, that they might not be reduced to the necessity of defending themselves, which, if they were compelled to do, must be at the peril of those who forced them to such extremities. This expostulation only exasperated the soldiers, who immediately rushing upon them in the most impetuous manner, a terrible affray ensued, in which several lives were lost, and the military at last put to flight.

The inquisitors, on this, wrote to the Viceroy of Naples, urging him to send them some companies of soldiers, to apprehend certain heretics of St. Xist and de la Garde, who had fled into the woods; at the same time apprising him that by ridding the church of such a plague, he would perform what was acceptable to the Pope and meritorious to himself. The viceroy cheerfully obeyed the summons, and marched at the head of his troops to the city of St. Xist, where, on his arrival, he caused it to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet, that the place was condemned to fire and sword. Proclamation was at the same time made throughout the kingdom of Naples, inviting persons to come to the war against the heretics of St. Xist, and promising as a recompense the customary advantages. Numbers consequently flocked to his standard, and were conducted to the woods and mountains whither the Waldenses had sought an asylum. Here they chased them so furiously, that the greater part were slain by the sword, and the rest wounded and destitute, retired into caverns upon the tops of the rocks, where they perished by famine.

Having accomplished their wishes on the fugitives from St. Xist, they next proceeded to la Garde, and apprehended seventy persons; who were brought before the inquisitor Penza, at Montauld. This merciless bigot caused them to be stretched upon the rack, with the view of extorting from them a confession of adultery and other abo-

minable practices too filthy to be mentioned; in no one instance of which did he succeed, though their tortures in many instances were so violent as to extinguish life. A person of the name of Marson was stripped naked and beat with rods, then drawn through the streets and burnt with firebrands. One of his sons was assassinated, and another led to the top of a tower where a crucifix was presented to him, with a promise that if he would salute it, his life should be spared. The youth replied, that he would rather die than commit idolatry, and as to their threats of casting him headlong from the tower, he preferred that his body should be dashed in pieces on the earth, to having his soul cast into hell for denying Christ and his truth. The inquisitor enraged at his answer, commanded him instantly to be precipitated, "that we may see," said he, "whether his God will preserve him."

Bernardine Conde was condemned to be burnt alive. As they led him to the stake, a crucifix was put into his hands, which he threw to the ground. The enraged inquisitor sent him back to prison, and to aggravate his torture he was first smeared over with pitch and then committed to the flames. The same inquisitor Penza caused the throats of eighty of them to be cut, just as butchers slaughter their sheep; their bodies were afterwards divided into four quarters, and the public way between Montauld and Castle Viller, for the space of thirty miles, was planted with stakes, and a quarter of the human frame stuck upon each of them. Four of the principal inhabitants of la Garde, viz. James Fermar, Anthony Palomb, Peter Jacio, and John Morglia were, by his order, hanged, in a place called Moran; but they met their deaths with surprising fortitude. A young man, of the name of Samson, defended himself dexterously for a length of time against those who came to apprehend him; but being wounded, he was seized and led to the top of a tower, where he was commanded to confess himself to a priest then present, before he was cast down. This, however, he refused, adding that he had

already confessed himself to God, on which he was cast headlong from the tower. The following day the viceroy, walking at the foot of the tower, saw the unhappy youth still alive, but languishing in tortures, having nearly all his bones broken. The monster kicked him on the head and said, "Is the dog yet alive? give him to the hogs."

This is only a specimen of the brutal outrages that were carried on at this time against the Waldenses in Calabria; but the reader will, probably, think it quite sufficient. Pope Pius IV. was so resolutely bent upon ridding the country of them, that he afterwards sent the Marquis of Butiane to perfect what was left undone, with a promise that if he succeeded in clearing Calabria of the Waldenses, he would give his son a cardinal's hat. He, indeed, found but little difficulty in effecting it; for the inquisitorial monks and Viceroy of Naples had already put to death so many, transporting others to the Spanish galleys, and banishing all fugitives, selling or slaying their wives and children, that not much remained for the marquis to accomplish.

Of their pastors, Stephen Megrin was imprisoned at Cossence, and literally starved to death. Lewis Pascal was conveyed to Rome, and there condemned to be burnt alive. As this man had been remarkable for his zeal, and the confidence with which he had maintained the Pope to be Antichrist, he was reserved as a gratifying spectacle for his holiness and the conclave of cardinals, who were present at his death. But such was the address which Pascal delivered to the people, from the word of God, that the Pope would gladly have wished himself elsewhere, or that Pascal had been dumb and the people deaf! The account that is given us of his dying behaviour, can scarcely fail to remind one of the case of the martyr Stephen; and his ardent zeal in the cause of Christ, added to his fervent supplications to the throne of grace, deeply affected the spectators, while the Pope and cardinals gnashed their teeth through rage.

Such was the end of the Waldenses in Calabria, who were wholly exterminated: for if any of the fugitives returned, it was upon the express condition that they would in all things conform themselves to the laws of the church of Rome.*

About this time, Francis I., king of France, obtained possession of the whole country of Piedmont, by conquest, and regulated its affairs by means of its parliament at Turin. The pontifical chair was then filled by Paul III., who plied the parliament so sedulously to proceed against these pernicious heretics, the Waldenses, that the recent scenes of France were now reacted in Piedmont; numbers of the Waldenses being committed to the flames. Happily these things were, in a great measure, new among them. They, therefore, presented an address to the king, humbly supplicating that they might be indulged with the same privileges under his government, which they and their forefathers had so long enjoyed under the house of Savoy. But Francis turned a deaf ear to their prayer, commanding them to be regulated in the concerns of religion by the laws of the Roman church, or they should be punished as heretics, adding, that he did not burn the followers of Luther in every part of France, to permit a nest of heretics to rest secure in the bosom of the Alps. They were, therefore, commanded by the parliament to send away their pastors on pain of death; and in their room to receive priests belonging to the Catholic church, to conduct their worship and sing masses for them. The Waldenses replied, that in what regarded their religious worship, they could obey no commands which interfered with the laws of God, to whom they rather chose to be obedient, in every thing that concerned his service, than to follow the fancies and inclinations of men.†

* Perrin's History of the Waldenses, b. ii. ch. 7.

† Sir Samuel Morland's Churches of Piedmont, p. 224.

But the multiplicity of important concerns which, at that critical juncture, engaged the king's attention, not permitting him to prosecute his measures against the Waldenses, the parliament relinquished the matter to the court of inquisition, who committed to the flames as many as they could apprehend. In the year 1555, several were burnt, in the castle yard at Turin, and among others Bartholomew Hector, a bookseller, who, by his admirable fortitude under his sufferings, his holy conversation, and fervent prayers to God, so deeply affected the spectators, that he drew tears from their eyes, and the language of compassionate sympathy from their lips.

Not long after this, the parliament of Turin, resolving to second, by every means in their power, the efforts of the inquisitors, appointed a person of the name of St. Julian, president, and sent him throughout the valleys, armed with the king's authority, and accompanied by an assessor, to compel the Waldenses either to conform to the church of Rome or to put them to death; promising to render their agents every assistance they might require, either to reduce to obedience, or exterminate them.

On their arrival at Perouse, they issued a proclamation in the name of the king, commanding every one of the inhabitants to attend mass on pain of death. From thence they proceeded to Pignerol, where they summoned several persons to appear before them, and drew up indictments, probably with the view of terrifying the Waldenses; but not finding these methods to succeed to their expectations, they next had recourse to a new and more alluring expedient. St. Julian had brought with him several monks from the valley of Angrogne, one of whom he caused to preach before a large concourse of the people. The zealous ecclesiastic laboured indefatigably to persuade them to return to the church of Rome, the praises of which he extolled to the skies. The people heard him patiently to the end of his harangue; and then rising up, requested that one of their pastors, who happened to be present, might be

indulged with the privilege of making some remarks on the sermon ; but the president very prudently declined the proposal. His refusal, however, occasioned such murmuring throughout the auditory, that the president and his monks were petrified with astonishment, and took the first opportunity that was afforded them of decently retiring and returning to Turin.

On their arrival they informed the parliament of their proceedings, intimating how difficult it would be to subdue these people by coercive measures ; and giving it as their opinion, that, even if attempted, the country afforded such facilities of defending themselves, that, either to reduce them to the obedience of the church of Rome, or to rid the country of them, must be an Herculean task, and performed at the expense of so much blood, that to exterminate them must be the work of a king, and of a king of France too ; they, therefore, submitted it to consideration, that it would be prudent to transmit a report of this matter to his majesty, and leave the further prosecution of the Waldenses to his own discretion. This advice was adopted, and a year elapsed before the parliament took any further measures relative to them.

His majesty, however, at length reported his pleasure upon the message of the parliament ; and it was, that all his subjects in Piedmont should be compelled to attend mass, on pain of corporeal punishment, and the confiscation of their goods ; and St. Julian was again sent to Angrogne to enforce obedience : but the people were still as averse to compliance as ever they had been. They answered, that they were not bound to obey such decrees as were inconsistent with their duty to God. He then commanded twelve of the principal persons among them, with all the pastors and all the schoolmasters in the valleys, to surrender themselves prisoners at Turin, there to receive such sentences, as should be passed upon them. They returned for answer, that such commands came from man only, and not from God, and that as they could not appear at Turin but

at the risk of their lives, and of being troubled on account of their religious profession, they declined compliance.

This contumacious behaviour inflamed the parliament to the highest pitch. They proceeded against them in the most summary manner, causing all that could be apprehended in Piedmont, and on the confines of the valleys, to be committed to the flames at Turin; and among others a Mr. Jeffery Varnigle was burnt, in the year 1557, in the castle yard. He was attended by an immense concourse of spectators, upon whom his death made a strong and lasting impression; his fervent piety and resignation to the will of God tending greatly to confirm and establish their own minds.

While these things were in progress, Francis was removed from the stage of life, and his son Henry II. raised to the throne. The Protestant princes of Germany, now moved with compassion for the poor persecuted Waldenses, interceded for them with Henry, entreating him to permit them the same religious privileges which their forefathers had enjoyed from generation to generation. And their application was not without success, for they continued unmolested until peace was concluded between France and Spain, in the year 1559, at which time Piedmont was again restored to the Duke of Savoy.

No sooner had the inhabitants of Piedmont become the subjects of Philbert Emanuel, than a most pressing application was made to him by the monks of Pignerol to prosecute the most sanguinary measures against the Waldenses; and the latter, to counteract it, presented an humble petition to their sovereign, in which they informed him they were not ignorant of the many accusations laid against them, nor of the various calumnies that were cast upon them, with the view of rendering them odious to all the princes and monarchs of the Christian world. They then make a bold avowal of their principles as these respected the Christian faith, their readiness to yield obedience to their civil rulers, in every thing that did not infringe upon the rights of con-

science—their anxious wish to live peaceably with their neighbours; boldly affirming that, though often provoked to it, they had done violence to no man; and in this respect, they challenged any complaint that could be brought against them. They appealed to their published confessions of faith that they were not obstinate in their opinions, but on the contrary ready to receive all holy and pious admonitions, that were sanctioned by the word of God; and that they were so far from evading discussion, that, on the contrary, they anxiously desired it. They implored his highness to consider that their religious profession was not a thing of yesterday, as their adversaries falsely reported; but had been the profession of their fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers; yea, of their predecessors of still more ancient times, even of the martyrs, confessors, apostles, and prophets; and they called upon their adversaries to prove the contrary, if they were able. Persuaded, therefore, as they were, that their religion was not a human invention, but founded upon the word of God, which shall remain for ever, they were confident that no human force should be able to extinguish it.

They call to the mind of their prince, the grievous persecutions that for many ages past had been carried on against their brethren, and which had been so far from destroying the sect, that their numbers were increasing daily—an argument, as they remarked, that the work and counsel was not of men but of God, and consequently not to be destroyed by violence. They remind him, that it is no trifling thing to fight against God; and beseech him to consider well what he is about to undertake, before he embroils his hands in innocent blood. “We shall religiously obey all your highness’s edicts,” say they, “so far as conscience will permit—but JESUS IS OUR SAVIOUR, and when conscience says *NAY*, your highness knows that it is our duty to obey God rather than man. While we frankly acknowledge the right of Cæsar, to demand from us what be-

longs to Cæsar, we must also render to God what is due to HIM."

But whether this petition did not arrive in time, or that the duke actually turned a deaf ear to it, it seems that in the year 1561 the inhabitants of the valleys were considerably harassed by the military; in consequence of which they came to the resolution of sending deputies to Turin, to prevail upon the dutchess, who was reported to be favourably disposed towards their cause, to intercede for them. In this instance they were more successful. An edict was issued in favour of the Waldenses, bearing date the 5th of June, 1561, granting them the privilege of holding their public assemblies in all the usual places, free from molestation; and that such of them as had been injured by the seizure and confiscation of their property, should have it restored, or receive a compensation for the same.

The following account of this matter, given by Sleidan's Continuator, appears to me of too much importance to be omitted in this place. "There was in Piedmont," says he, "a valley called by the name of Perouse, and St. Martin; inhabited by about fifteen thousand souls, whose ancestors, about four hundred years since, had, upon the preaching of Waldo, Speronus, and Arnold, made a defection from the Church of Rome, and had, at times, been severely treated for it, by the French, under whom they had been; but by the last treaty they were assigned to the Duke of Savoy. This people about the year 1555, had embraced the Reformation, and had suffered it to be publicly preached, though it was forbidden by the council at Turin, which, the year following, sent one of its own members, to inquire after the offenders and to punish them; to whom the inhabitants delivered the confession of their faith; 'Declaring that they professed the doctrine contained in the Old and New Testament, and comprehended in the Apostle's Creed; and admitted the sacraments instituted by Christ, and the ten commandments, &c. That they believed the

supreme civil magistrates were instituted by God, and they were to be obeyed, and that whosoever resisted them, fought against God. They said they had received this doctrine from their ancestors, and that if they were in any error they were ready to receive instruction from the word of God, and would presently renounce any heretical or erroneous doctrine which should be so shown to them.'

"On this a solemn disputation was appointed, concerning the sacrifice of the mass, auricular confession, tradition, prayers and oblations for the dead, and the ceremonies of the church and her censures; all which they rejected, alleging that they were human inventions, and contrary to the word of God. This confession was sent by the Duke of Savoy to the King of France, who about a year after returned an answer, that he had caused it to be examined by his learned divines; who had all condemned it as erroneous and contrary to true religion; and therefore, the king commanded them to reject the confession and to submit to the holy church of Rome; and if they did not do so, their persons and estates should be confiscated. But they, on the contrary, were resolved to stand by their former confession. They were, therefore, commanded not to admit any teacher who was not sent by the Archbishop of Turin, or the council there; and that if any teachers came among them from Geneva they should discover or apprehend them, upon pain of death, and loss of all they had. For three years after this, the Waldenses, were let alone and no way molested; but this year, 1560, the Duke of Savoy, much against his will and inclination, was drawn by the Pope to make war upon them. In the beginning of March, Jean de Carpuignan, and one Mathurim and his wife, were apprehended and burnt, and several of the neighbouring valleys were plundered, and many of the inhabitants put to death; about sixty were sent to the galleys, and some recanted and professed the Roman Catholic religion. After this, Thomas Jacomel, a Dominican, was sent with one Turbis for his assistant, who was a bloody

man, to inquire diligently and severely into all that were suspected ; but the nobility interposing, there was no great severity shown. The monks of the abbey of Pignarol, which was seated in the entrance of the valley, on the other side, kept a parcel of soldiers in pay ; and entrapping as many of these poor people as they could, as they passed to and fro, they used them very cruelly ; and some others of the nobility did the same thing ; and a sedition following upon it, they fined the poor inhabitants one thousand six hundred crowns. Upon this a sharp war ensued, which ended in the ruin of the aggressors of the church of Rome.

“The pastor of Perouse was taken and burnt with a slow fire, together with many of his flock, and the inhabitants were despoiled of all they had, and forced to flee to the mountains. Being thus enraged with hard usage, in the month of July, fifty of them set upon one hundred and twenty soldiers belonging to the abbey of Pignarol, put them to flight, and slew the greatest part of them ; and about four hundred more of their party coming up, they took the abbey of Pignarol, and delivered all their people which were imprisoned there. In October following, news being brought that the Duke of Savoy was sending an army to destroy them ; they resolved, that it was not lawful to take arms against their prince, but that they would take what they could carry away, and betake themselves to the mountains, and there await the good pleasure of God, who never forsakes his own, and can turn the hearts of princes which way he pleaseth. There was not one man amongst them who repined against this decree. In after-times they had pastors who taught them otherwise, and told them it was not their prince, but the Pope that they resisted, and that they fought not for their religion, but for their wives and children. The 2d of November the forces of the Duke of Savoy entered their borders, and the soldiers attempting to get above them, they betook themselves to their slings, and maintained a fight against them (though

they were but few in number) the space of a whole day, with no great loss. At last the general finding they were not to be forced, gave them leave to petition the Duke of Savoy, 'that they might live in peace, assuring him that nothing but utter ruin could have forced them to take arms against him: for which they humbly implored his highness's pardon, and begging the liberty of their consciences, and that they might not be forced to submit to the traditions of the church of Rome; but might, with his leave, enjoy the religion they had learned from their ancestors.'

"This petition was seconded by the Dutchess of Savoy, who was a merciful princess, and had great power over the affections of the duke. It being ever her judgment that this people were not to be so severely used, who had not changed their religion a few days ago, but had been in possession of it from their ancestors so many ages. Upon this they were to be received to mercy; but the soldiery fell upon them when they suspected nothing, and plundered them three days together. The general seemed to be much concerned at this breach of faith: yet after this they were fined eight thousand crowns, which they were forced to borrow on great usury, and they were also commanded to bring all their arms into the castles which the duke had garrisoned in their country. And at last they were commanded to eject all their pastors (which was submitted to with the tears of their people) that they might avoid the fury of the soldiers. The general pretended not to be satisfied that their pastors were in reality gone, and when they suffered them to search their houses, the soldiers plundered them again, and then burnt their town. There was one town called Angrogne, in a valley of the same name, where the general pretended to show them more favour, and agreed that they should have one pastor left them: but they forced him also to flee into the mountains afterwards, and plundered his house, and all his neighbours, and then enjoined the Sindicks (or chief magistrates) to bring in the pastor: threatening that otherwise they would

burn and destroy the whole territory; and when they had so done they withdrew.

“In the mean-time their messengers were gone with their petition, mentioned above, to the duke at Vercelli, where they attended forty days before they could get an audience, and then they were forced to promise they would admit the mass, and when the prince had, upon these terms, forgiven their taking arms against him, they were commanded to ask pardon too of the Pope’s nuncio, which at last they did. During their absence, the inhabitants of Angrogne had permitted no sermons but in private, that they might not exasperate the prince, or make the affairs of their deputies more difficult. But they resolved when these were returned to exercise their religion openly, and not to give any thing to the maintaining of the soldiers, whether their request was granted or denied.

“In the beginning of January the deputies returned, and when their principals understood what had been done, they wrote to the rest of the valleys to give them an account of it; and desired a public consultation or diet; at which it was resolved that they should all join in a league to defend their religion, which they believed was agreeable to the word of God, professing in the mean-time to obey their prince according to the command of God, and that they would, for the future, make no agreement or peace, but by common consent, in which the freedom of their religion should be saved. Upon this they became more confident, refused the conditions offered by the Duke of Savoy, and the promises made by their deputies. And the next day they entered into the church of Bobbio, and broke down all the images and altars, and then marching to Villare, where they intended to do the like, they met the soldiers, who had heard what was done, going to plunder Bobbio, stopped them, and with their slings so pelted them, that they were glad to shift for their lives, and left these reformers to do the same thing at Villare. The captain of Turin attempting to quell this outrage was beaten, and the

duke's officers were glad to seek to their pastors for a passport. After this they beat the captain of Turin in a second fight. By this time the whole army drew into the field, and the inhabitants of these valleys not being able to resist them, the soldiers burnt all their towns and houses, and destroyed all the people they took. In these broils Monteil, one of the Duke of Savoy's chief officers, was slain by a lad of eighteen years of age; and Truchet, another of them, by a dwarf. The Duke of Savoy had sent seven thousand soldiers to destroy this handful of men; and yet such was their desperation, and the advantages of their country, that they beat his soldiers wheresoever they met them. And in all these fights their enemies observed that they had slain only fourteen of the inhabitants, and thence concluded that God fought for them. So the Savoyards began to treat for a peace, which at last was concluded to the advantage of these poor despicable people. The duke remitted the eight thousand crowns they were to pay by the former treaty, and suffered them to enjoy their religious liberty: so that he got nothing by this war but loss and shame, the ruin of his people on both sides, and the desolation of his country.”*

This calm, however, only lasted about four years; for, in 1565, at the importunate request of the Catholic party, an edict was issued, enjoining every subject throughout the dominions of the Duke of Savoy, not conforming to the church of Rome, to appear before the magistrates of their several districts, within ten days after its publication, and there either declare their readiness to go to mass, or quit the country in two months. The magistrates were, at the same time, directed to take particular cognizance of such as refused compliance, and to transmit information thereof to his highness.

The protestant princes of Germany, having received information of this tremendous blow which now threatened

* Sleidan's History of the Reformation, Continuation, p. 52—54.

the Waldenses, very humanely interposed with the duke, for the purpose of warding it off. The Elector Palatine of the Rhine, in particular, addressed a letter to him, which he transmitted by the hands of one of his counselors. I regret that its length, (for it occupies seven pages in folio) renders its entire insertion here impracticable; but some judgment may be formed of the noble sentiments that it breathes throughout from the following extracts:

——“I plainly see,” says the Elector Palatine, “whether the designs of your highness’s counsels tend. It is to drag these poor people to prison, and there, by means of torment, to constrain them to confess some treason, that so a pretext may be afforded for destroying all the churches of the valleys, as seditious, and to condemn them as disturbers of the public peace. But let your highness recollect, that there is a God in heaven, who not only beholds the actions of men, but who also tries their hearts and reins, and to whom all things are naked and open. Let your highness beware of wilfully fighting against God, and of persecuting Christ in his members; for though he may bear it for awhile, to try the patience of his saints, he will, nevertheless, in the end, chastise the persecutors of his churches and people with horrible punishments. Let not your highness suffer yourself to be abused by the persuasions of the Papists, who may possibly promise you the kingdom of heaven, and eternal life, as a reward, in case you banish, imprison, and exterminate your subjects. But the infliction of cruelties, and inhuman actions, are not the highway to the kingdom of heaven—there must be some other found out. Your highness may see what success has attended the last forty years of persecution. What advantage have those, who called themselves Catholics, derived from all the fires, swords, gibbets, prisons, tortures, and banishments, which they have exercised in Germany, England, France, and Scotland? No; the history of both the Jews, and the primitive Christians, abundantly shows that in the concerns of religion the power, authority, or severity of men avail

nothing. Do we not find that those who have persecuted, banished, or delivered up unto death, the Christians, have been so far from gaining any thing thereby, that, on the contrary they have increased their number, insomuch that it has become a proverb—‘The ashes of the martyrs are the seed of the Christian church.’ In this respect the church resembles the palm tree, which, the more it is weighed down, the loftier it rises.—Be assured, that true religion is nothing else than a firm and settled persuasion of the existence of God, and of his will, as revealed in his word, imprinted on the mind by the Holy Spirit, which having once taken root, cannot easily be eradicated by tortures and torments—for those who are the subjects of it, will sooner endure the worst that can befall them, than embrace any thing which appears to them contrary to religion and godliness.

“By the grace of God, evangelical truth now shines in such splendour, that the errors and deceits of the Bishop of Rome and all his clergy, are sufficiently known in a manner, by all men; nor must the Pope think, henceforward, to abuse the world, as he has done in former times. I, therefore, beseech your highness, whom I understand to be of a sweet and gentle disposition, that you would lay these things to heart, and not further molest these poor people for the sake of their religion, nor refuse them the free exercise of it, but rather allow them the liberty of assembling in public for the worship and service of God; in doing which you will readily discover the falsehood of the charges brought against them by their adversaries, and have a proof of their loyalty and obedience. Your highness is not ignorant what evils were brought upon France by their violence, in banishing and persecuting [the Christians there,] what a flame was raised, which in a manner consumed the whole kingdom, and what ruin ensued, *all which has been appeased by one single edict, granting liberty of conscience*; the result of which is, that the most entire peace and tranquillity reign among them,

though they profess different forms of religion. And, indeed, the plain truth is, that, if your highness, out of complaisance to the bishop of Rome, the cardinals, prelates, and others who are interested in the Roman religion, be resolved still to continue to persecute these poor people, you will unquestionably experience the same evils that have come upon other kingdoms. Nothing that is violent is of long duration; and we must not always follow the wolf into the wood. Poverty and hunger are no inconsiderable torments, nor is it an easy thing to lead so long and miserable a life in exile, when deprived of one's goods and estates. It is the height of injustice and misery to be compelled to submit to the tyrannical yoke of the Bishop of Rome, and to be prohibited worshipping God according to his word. And it is wholly intolerable for good and faithful subjects to be accused as rebels or seditious persons.

“I learn, not without much grief, that scarcely any thing has yet been done in regard to the things which your highness promised my JUNIUS by word of mouth,* and that those poor wretches *who are kept in the galleys on account of their religion*, whose names he delivered in to your highness, are yet detained; from which I plainly perceive that these are the doings of your highness's counsellors, who are carried away with deadly hatred against our religion, of which I have proof, not merely by hearsay, but in the actual case of two who have been lately banished. But let me tell you, in a word, that this severity is neither well-pleasing to God nor man, nor is it the way to bring men to the true knowledge of God, which must be done by persuasion and an appeal to the scriptures—not by persecution. Your highness may probably tell me, that our religion has been long condemned—but I ask, by whom, and how? By

* For understanding this, the reader must notice, that the elector had before this time, by means of one of his ministers, whose name was JUNIUS, been interceding with the duke, in behalf of some of the Waldenses, and that the latter had promised to redress the grievance, which, however, the Catholic clergy and the duke's own ministers had successfully manœuvred to prevent.

him who has violated and corrupted all rights, human and divine, making himself both party and judge, and who has lately, at the Council of Trent, confirmed all his idolatries, and all the superstitions and abuses that have been introduced into the church. Let your highness carefully examine the Holy Scriptures, and you will find this to be the case. Never suffer yourself to be deluded by those deceivers, who maintain their idolatries and superstitions merely to serve their own bellies, and that they may lead the lives of epicures. Let your highness well consider, that you must one day appear before the tribunal of Christ, to give an account of the souls of your subjects, and where it will avail you nothing to say, 'I thought so,' or, 'I esteemed it to be so.' God has revealed his will in his word, and it is his pleasure that we should follow the same without turning either to the right hand or to the left. The word of God is also clear and plain; let your highness only hear and embrace it, and you will easily find out the truth. I say all this, as one who wishes well to your highness's soul, as much so indeed as I do to that of my own, and I pray the Lord incessantly, that it may please him to enlighten your understanding, and call you home to his true light, that you may discern truth from falsehood, and that thus having a knowledge of the horrible abuses of the church of Rome, you may serve God in sincerity and truth.

"I therefore beseech your highness to give us a pledge of that esteem which you have for us, by delivering those poor people which are now in the galleys, and recalling those that have been recently banished by the senate of Savoy, as you promised my JUNIUS and myself, by your letters. Have compassion upon so many wandering exiles, deprived of all their property and effects. Call them home, and restore them to their houses and habitations: and grant both to them, and to the other inhabitants of your highness's country, the public exercise of their religious worship, which *they esteem more necessary than their daily food*. Absolve such of these poor people of the valleys as

have been falsely accused, that so they may all live in peace and tranquillity under your highness's government. Make such articles of peace with them as may be preserved inviolate—support them in the quiet exercise of that religion which you have permitted them, and defend them in the same, bridling and restraining the bitter hatred which their governor Castrocara exercises towards them; and warn him to molest them no more for the future, as he has hitherto done; enjoin upon him that he refrain from falsely imputing to them crimes and accusations, by means of which he thinks to varnish over his tyranny; for such things are altogether unsuitable to the office of a magistrate and a governor, who ought to be a father to those that are committed to his charge. Do not render yourself an instrument to the Pope and his creatures, of gratifying their insatiable desires to spill the blood of Christians. Countenance not their cruelty and inhumanity against those who are in no wise perverse, but real Christians, and who have nothing more at heart than to serve God purely and uprightly under your highness's government, to whom they are ready to yield all that obedience and fidelity which is your due, and to lay themselves out (their property, their persons, and their lives, if necessity calls for them) for your service. The great and all-powerful God guide and govern your highness by his Holy Spirit, and preserve and defend you long in health and safety.”*

This letter, which breathes, throughout, the spirit of genuine Christianity, will be found, by those who bestow proper attention upon it, to throw much light upon the state of the Waldenses in Piedmont, at the middle of the sixteenth century. For while it gives us the most favourable view of their peaceable, prudent, and exemplary conduct, it unmasks the perfidious and cruel proceedings of the Catholic party towards them, and the distresses and afflictions with which they were perpetually harassed, on

* Morland's *Churches of Piedmont*, p. 243—249.

account of their profession. It appears to have had the happiest effects upon the duke; and, supported as it was, by the personal application of the dutchess, who is said to have been "a pious and virtuous princess," it bridled the fury of the governor Castrocaro, and averted the dreadful storm which hung over them. They appear to have enjoyed peace until the year 1571, at which time the rage of this inhuman governor again burst forth. The duke, at that instant, had been drawn in to join several of the princes of Europe, in a league offensive against the Protestants; which he had no sooner done, than he began to molest his Protestant subjects in the valleys. He first of all forbade them to hold any correspondence with the Waldenses of Dauphiny, on pain of death. And next they were forbidden to assemble in any synod or council, unless it were in the presence of the intolerant Castrocaro. These things sufficiently indicated the gathering of another storm; but the dutchess again humanely interposed, and with effect; for she procured the continuance of their privileges; and, indeed, during her life, she remained as it were, a sanctuary, and place of refuge, for the members of the churches of Piedmont, whenever they found themselves assailed by their adversaries.

In the following year, 1572, the dreadful massacre of the Hugonots, on St. Bartholomew's day, took place at Paris, and several of the other cities of France. No sooner had the news of this reached Castrocaro, than he prepared himself for similar exploits in Piedmont; and so terrific was the attitude in which he placed himself, that the Waldensian brethren thought it necessary to retire, with their wives, children, and moveable effects, to the tops of the mountains, and other places of real or fancied security. But God who has the hearts of all men in his hands, and who, at his pleasure, restrains the wrath of man, on this occasion disposed the heart of the duke to befriend them. The massacres that had taken place in France filled him

with disgust and horror; and so far was he from allowing the governor to act a similar part towards *his* subjects, that he caused a proclamation to be issued, commanding those who had left their habitations to return to their own houses, promising that they should sustain neither danger nor injury thereby; and they found him true to his word, for, from that time to the death of the dutchess, which took place on the 19th of October, 1574, they suffered but little inconvenience.

After the death of this amiable lady, however, the Popish party came forth, like lions out of their dens, and sought, by all possible means, to destroy the Waldenses; but the kind providence of God raised them up friends, from time to time, who interceded on their behalf with the duke, whose heart seems to have been gradually and increasingly inclined towards them; for he continued to treat them with much gentleness and moderation, from that time until the period of his own death, which happened on the 30th of August, 1580.

The late duke was succeeded in the government of the country by his son Charles Emanuel, upon whose accession to the throne a trifling contest about territory arose between him and a French prince, which was near involving the Waldenses in a dilemma. The young duke had seized upon the marquise of Saluces, on which Monsieur de l'Esdiquieres, by way of retaliation, marched his army, and seized the valleys of Piedmont. When the *fracas* was over, a rumour was spread abroad that the Waldenses had taken the oath of fidelity to the King of France, and that the duke, displeased with that part of their conduct, had formed the resolution of extirpating all the Protestant churches in his dominions. There does appear to have been some truth in the latter part of this representation, for some members of the duke's council actually proposed the thing, but it was overruled by the wiser and greater part of the members, and it met with a stern repulse from the duke

himself. The Waldenses, however, thought it expedient to appoint their deputies to wait upon him, which they did at Villaro, assuring his highness of their loyalty and fidelity to his government, and supplicating a continuance of his favour and protection. His answer, which was made in the presence of a great number of his lords and courtiers, was calculated to revive their drooping spirits. "Only be faithful to me," said the duke, "and I shall not fail to be a good prince, nay, a father to you. And as to your liberty of conscience and the free exercise of your religion, I shall be so far from introducing any innovations into those liberties which you have enjoyed to the present time, that *if any offer to molest you, have your recourse to myself, and I shall effectually relieve and protect you.*"

This certainly was a very remarkable declaration, especially when we consider that it came from one who professed himself a member of the church of Rome. But it was spoken in the presence of many persons of high consideration, and in the most condescending manner; and it proved eminently conducive to the interests of the Waldenses. It counterbalanced the threats of their implacable adversaries, and kept them in check; and such, with occasional interruptions indeed, from the Catholic party, sometimes by secret stratagems, and at others by open force, continued their condition until the end of the century. About that time, the scene greatly changed, and the years 1601 and 1602 were prolific of mischief to the churches, both in the valley of Lucerne and the marquisate of Saluces, of which some mention will be made in the next section; I shall close the present with a short article of biography which may serve as an introduction to the history of the Waldenses during the seventeenth century.

In the year 1601, Bartholomew Copin, a Waldensian of the valley of Lucerne, had occasion to attend a public fair at Ast, a city in Piedmont, to which he had brought for sale some articles of merchandise. Sitting at table one evening in company with several other merchants, one of

them started a discourse upon the subject of the diversity of religious professions, and took occasion to speak reproachfully of the Waldenses of Angrogne and the neighbouring valleys. Copin undertook their defence; conceiving that if he permitted such calumnies to pass uncontradicted, he should appear to be acquiescing in their justice, and of course should partake in the guilt that attached to them. "And what," said the stranger to Copin, "are you one of the Waldenses?" "Yes," said he, "I am." "And what, do you not believe the real presence of God in the host?" "No," said Copin. "See," replied the other, "what a false religion yours is." "Of the truth of my religion," said Copin, "I have no more doubt, than I have of the existence of God himself, or that I myself shall die." On the following day, Copin was summoned to appear before the Bishop of Ast, who told him that he had been informed of certain scandalous opinions and discourses which he had held the preceding evening at his lodgings; and that unless he confessed his fault, and asked pardon, he should certainly have him punished. Copin acknowledged that he had been stimulated to say what he did; but that, nevertheless, he had said nothing that was untrue, or which he would not maintain at the peril of his life. He owned that he had some property in the world, and a wife and children, but that his affections were not so rivetted to those objects, as to prefer them to the testimony of a good conscience. And as to his life and conversation, if the bishop thought proper to inquire of the merchants of Ast, all of whom knew him, he might be fully satisfied of his uprightness and integrity.

This, however, did not satisfy his lordship, who instantly sent him to prison; and on the following day, the bishop's secretary paid Copin a visit, when he expressed great regard for him, but thought it necessary to apprise him that, unless he acknowledged his fault, he was in danger of losing his life. Copin replied, that his life was in the hands of God—that he had no wish to preserve it to the prejudice

of *his* glory—and that as there were but two or three steps between him and heaven, he trusted he would support him by his grace, and not leave him to turn aside. He was next brought before the inquisitor, who examined him in the presence of the bishop; but Copin always repulsed them with the word of God, telling them that were he to be ashamed of and deny Christ, he would be ashamed of and deny him before his heavenly Father. The inquisitor, finding he was not to be moved by either his fair speeches or terrific frowns, then thus addressed him. “Out upon thee, thou cursed Lutheran; thou shalt go to the devils in hell, and when tormented by those foul spirits, thou wilt call to mind the holy instructions we have given thee, to bring thee to salvation—but thou choosest rather to go to hell, than reconcile thyself to thy holy mother, the church.” Copin only answered, that he had long been reconciled to the holy church.

Copin, foreseeing that his death was resolved on, and that his time here would probably be short, was one day greatly surprised by a visit from his wife and son, who seem to have been enticed to the prison by the Catholic party for sinister purposes, and who were permitted to sup with him in the prison. He improved the time, however, in exhorting his wife to submission to the will of God; telling her she would soon be deprived of her husband, and the child of its father; he reminded her that it was not his duty to love wife or children more than Christ—that she ought to esteem him happy in that it pleased God to confer upon him the honour of bearing witness to his truth at the expense of his life; and that he hoped God would grant him grace to suffer any torments for his sake. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the parting scene, which the reader’s own reflections will enable him to realize. The affecting lamentations of his wife and child were sufficient to melt the most obdurate heart into pity and compassion; but having received his last benediction, they were dismiss-

ed the prison, and Copin was locked up as before. On the next day he wrote the following letter.

“ To my well-beloved consort, Susanna Copin.

“ My dearest Consort !

“ I derived much consolation from your late visit—and indeed so much the more, by how much the less it was expected. I believe, also, it was no little satisfaction to yourself, to have the opportunity of supping with me, as it fell out on Saturday the 15th of September, 1601. I know not how it came about that we were permitted so to do ; but all things are in the hands of God, and be the cause what it may, I do not think we shall eat together any more. And, therefore, beseech God to be your comforter, and put your trust in him, who hath promised never to forsake those that depend upon him. You want not prudence, and therefore so manage and govern your house, that you may have Samuel and Martha, in proper subjection to you, and I command them, by the authority that God hath given me, that they honour and obey you, and in so doing they will be blessed of God. As to the rest, be neither troubled nor concerned about me ; for if divine providence hath decreed to put a period to my life, and if it please him to demand a restitution of that soul which he hath a long time lent me, my confidence is in him, that out of his immense mercy and divine goodness, he will receive it into heaven, for the sake of his Son Christ Jesus, who, I believe, hath made expiation for our sins by his sufferings and death. Be constant in prayer to God, and serve him fully—for thus you will be happy. You need not send me any thing for three weeks to come ; but at the expiration of that time, you may, if you please, send me some money, to pay the gaoler and my own support, *if I live so long*. Recollect what I have often told you, that God added fifteen years to the life of king Hezekiah, but that he had prolonged my

term much more, for you have seen me, as it were, dead a long time ago, and yet I still survive ; and I hope and trust that he will preserve my life until my death be more for his glory and my own happiness, through his goodness and mercy towards me.

“ *From the prison of Ast, Sept. 16th, 1601.*”

Poor Copin was soon afterwards found dead in his cell, not without symptoms of having been strangled ! After his death he was condemned to be burnt ; and the body having been brought out of prison, sentence was read over it, and it was cast into the fire.*

SECTION V.

The history of the Waldenses during the former part of the seventeenth century.

A. D. 1600—1665.

ON the southern side of the valleys of Piedmont, lies a considerable tract of extremely fertile country, including extensive valleys and plain lands, with several large cities, all passing under the general term of THE MARQUISATE OF SALUCES.† Its most northern valley is that of Po, so named from the river Po taking its rise there ; and it is separated only by a single mountain on the north side from the valley of Lucerne, in Piedmont.

Previous to the year 1588, the marquisate of Saluces was subject to the jurisdiction of the kings of France ; but at that period an exchange of territory was made between the French monarch and the Duke of Savoy—in consequence

* Perrin's History, b. ii. ch. iv.

† This name is, in our old historians, frequently spelt “ *Saluzzes*.”

of which the latter gave up la Bresse to France, and the marquisate of Saluces was annexed to the dominions of the Duke of Savoy.

The contiguity of Saluces to the valleys of Piedmont, together with its great similarity in regard to territorial surface, had entitled it, for several centuries, to participate of the light of divine truth, which shone in the neighbouring valleys; and in the beginning of the seventeenth century there were eight flourishing churches in the marquisate, of which Pravillelm, Biolets, Bietoné, and Dronier were the chief; but they had all maintained the purity of the Christian profession for ages, living in great harmony, and holding fellowship with the neighbouring churches of the same faith and order. Their external peace had, indeed, been frequently invaded by the kings of France, and their constancy and patience under sufferings put severely to the test—but if the French monarchs had chastised them with whips, it was reserved for their new sovereign, Charles Emanuel, to do it with scorpions.*

In the year 1597, the Duke of Savoy made his pleasure known to his new subjects, by a letter issued from Turin, dated 27th of March of that year, of which the following is a copy.

Well-beloved Friends, &c.

It being our desire that all our subjects in the marquisate of Saluces should live under obedience to our mother, the Catholic Apostolic Roman Church—and knowing how much our exhortations have prevailed upon others, hoping also that they will have the same effect upon you, and that you are willing to adhere to the truth: we have thought it proper, upon these grounds, to address you in this letter, to the end that, laying aside that heretical obstinacy, you may embrace the true religion, both out of respect to God's

* Sir Samuel Morland's *History of the Churches of Piedmont*, p. 258. Perrin's *Hist. des Vaudois*, b. ii. ch. 5. Boyer's *History of the Waldenses*, ch. ix.

glory and love to your own selves. In which religion we, for our parts, are resolved to live and die; which conduct of yours, on account of so good an example, will undoubtedly lead you to eternal life. Only dispose yourselves to do this, and we shall preserve the remembrance of it for your benefit, as the Lord de la Monte will more particularly certify you on our part, to whom we refer ourselves in this regard, praying the Lord to assist you by his holy grace.*

The publication of this letter occasioned a general consultation among the churches of the marquisate, and they returned an answer to it, in the form of a petition to the Duke of Savoy, in which they first of all tender their thanks to his highness for having permitted them so long to enjoy their religious privileges free from molestation, in the same manner as he had found them when he took possession of the marquisate, in 1588. They then proceed humbly to entreat him that he will be pleased to indulge them with a continuance of the same privilege, inasmuch as they were persuaded that their religious profession was founded on the Holy Scriptures, by which standard they laboured so to regulate their lives and conversations, as to give no just cause of offence to any one. And when they reflected that even the Jews and other enemies of Christ were there allowed to live in peace, and the enjoyment of their religious worship, they confidently hoped that those who were found to be Christians, and faithful to God and their prince, would not be debarred the same privilege.

This answer was not wholly without effect. They remained undisturbed until the year 1601, when, in the month of July, an edict was issued, commanding all the inhabitants of the marquisate of Saluces, who dissented from the church of Rome, to appear individually before the magistrates,

* Morland, p. 263.

within the space of fifteen days, and there declare whether or not they would renounce their religious profession and go to mass. In the former case, it was promised them that they should remain peaceably in their houses, and be entitled to peculiar advantages; while in the latter, they were peremptorily ordered to depart out of his highness's dominions, within the space of two months, and never to return without permission, under pain of death and the confiscation of their property.

The Waldenses appear to have had considerable difficulty in persuading themselves that this was any thing more than a threat; in which unfounded supposition they were encouraged by some persons of note among them. They, therefore, made no preparation for a departure, by the settlement of their affairs; but appointed deputies to wait on the duke, to obtain a revocation; or if that could not be effected, at any rate, a modification of this rigorous edict. But Clement VIII., who was then Pope, had got complete possession of the duke's ear, and rendered him deaf to every entreaty. To carry the edict into full effect, a great number of inquisitorial monks were dispatched into the marquisate, who, on their arrival, went from house to house, examining the inhabitants concerning their religious profession—and just at the expiration of the term allowed by the edict, their deputies returned, but, to their surprise and amazement, informed them that every hope of redress had vanished. The consequence was, that more than *five hundred families were driven into exile!*

“The world was all before them, where to choose
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide.”

Some crossed the Alps, and retired into Dauphiny, in France; others to Geneva, and its neighbourhood; while many sought refuge among their friends in the valleys of Piedmont; where, for a while, they remained undisturbed,

notwithstanding the edict had expressly mentioned that they should depart out of the dominions of the Duke of Savoy.*

Whether their Catholic persecutors, not content with this too gentle mode of punishment, endeavoured, by loading them with reproaches and false accusations, to steel the hearts of the inhabitants of other countries against them, and thereby prevent their finding an asylum; or whatever was their particular inducement thereto, it is certain that they considered it necessary, in the year 1603, to publish a declaration explanatory of the cause of their banishment. Perrin has given us a copy of it, and the following is the substance :

It begins by stating, that from time immemorial, and from generation to generation, the same doctrines and religious profession had been maintained by their predecessors in the marquise of Saluces; and that, while under the jurisdiction of the kings of France, they had been permitted to profess their faith without molestation, just as their brethren of the valleys of Lucerne, la Perouse, &c., (in Piedmont) had done; but that his highness, instigated by the evil counsels of persons swayed by prejudice and passion rather than of his own free will, had issued an edict to disturb and molest them. "To the end, therefore," say they, "that all men may know that it is not for any crime or misdemeanour, perpetrated against the person of our prince, or for rebellion, or opposition to his edicts, or for murder, or theft, that we are thus persecuted, and spoiled of our goods: WE PROTEST AND DECLARE, that the doctrine maintained by the reformed churches of France, Switzerland, Germany, Geneva, England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, and other kingdoms, is the only Christian doctrine approved of God, and which brings salvation to men. We are, therefore, determined to adhere to it, to the end of our lives, and at the risk of every thing that is dear to us.

* Perrin, b. ii. ch. v. Moreland, p. 265.

If any presume to think us in an error, we desire to be shown wherein, promising to abjure and turn from it, and to follow the better way that shall be shown us; for we have nothing more at heart, than, with a good conscience, to worship God, agreeably to his own will, and attain the salvation of our souls. But as attempts have been made, by mere force, to compel us to forsake the way of salvation, and to follow after the erroneous doctrines and superstitions invented by men, we choose to lose our houses and properties, nay, and our very lives also, rather than comply."

They, therefore, implore the reformed churches, in the midst of their exile and calamity, to receive them into their fellowship; being prepared, if it should please God so to order it, to seal their testimony with their blood. They return thanks to God, for the honour conferred upon them, by calling them to suffer afflictions and persecutions for his name's sake, committing the issue of their affairs, and the righteousness of their cause, unto the divine providence, trusting that he will effect their deliverance when and how he pleases. And they conclude with a prayer to God, that he who hath the hearts of kings and princes in his hands, would be graciously pleased to soften the heart of his highness, and incline him to pity those who never did, and who are resolved that they never will offend him; and that it may be given him to perceive that *they* are more loyal and faithful to him, than those are who have instigated him to such persecutions. And, finally, that the Lord will be pleased to support them in the midst of their trials, and to fortify them with patience and constancy, that they and their posterity may persevere in the profession of truth to the end of their lives.

It does not appear that this affecting address produced any melioration of the condition of the poor exiles. All the churches in the marquisate of Saluces were completely dispersed; and the Pope, with the assistance of his inquisitorial band, took special care to keep the country clear of them, as they had formerly done that of Calabria. During

this persecution, MONSIEUR VIGNAUX, pastor of the church of Villaro, in the valley of Lucerne, whose history of the Waldenses I have frequently adverted to,* was indefatigable in his exertions to serve his afflicted brethren. He was then far advanced in life, his years had given him the advantage of much experience in the Christian profession; and he was remarkable for his gravity and other excellent qualities. Deeply feeling for their distresses, he employed himself in writing long letters to his poor persecuted brethren in every quarter, exhorting them to patience and perseverance, and encouraging them by all the consolatory considerations which the gospel affords, not to faint nor be discouraged, but to bear up under their troubles. He also wrote to several of the nobility, to whom he was known, either personally or by report, particularly to the governor of the marquisate, with whom he was intimately acquainted, stating the injustice and cruelty that was done to his friends, and urging all the motives and reasons that he could devise, to induce him to mitigate their sufferings; but, so far as appears, without the least effect.

From this period, the Waldenses appear to have been tolerably free from very severe persecution for half a century. But, in the month of January, 1655, the tragedy of Saluces was reacted over almost all the valleys of Piedmont, and with tenfold cruelty. On the 25th of that month, a public document appeared, which has since been but too well known by the title of "the order of Gastaldo." Thus runs the preamble :

"ANDREW GASTALDO, Doctor of the Civil Law, Master Auditor Ordinary, sitting in the most illustrious chamber of accounts of his royal highness, and *Conservator General of the holy faith*, for the observation of the orders published against the pretended reformed religion of the valley of Lucerne, Perouse, and St. Martino, and upon this account especially deputed by his said royal highness."

* See particularly, p. 78.

After stating the authority which had been vested in him by the Duke, on the 13th of the same month, it proceeds “to command and enjoin every head of a family, with its members, of the reformed religion, of whatever rank, degree or condition soever, without exception, inhabiting or possessing estates in the places of Lucerne, Lucernetta, S. Giovanni, La Torre, Bubbiana, and Fenile, Campiglione, Bricherassio, and S. Secondo, *within three days after the publication of those presents, to withdraw and depart, and to be, with their families, withdrawn out of the said places, and transported into the places allowed by his royal highness, during his good pleasure, &c., under pain of death and confiscation of houses and goods—Provided always that they do not make it appear to us within twenty days following, that they are become Catholics, or that they have sold their goods to the Catholics. Furthermore, his royal highness intends and wills that in the places (to which they were to transport themselves) the holy mass shall be celebrated in every one of them, and that for any person of the said reformed religion to molest, either in deed or word, the missionary fathers and those that attend them, much less to divert or dissuade any one of the said religion from turning Catholic, he shall do it on pain of death,” &c.*

It is not difficult to conjecture what must have been the distress and misery consequent upon a compliance with such an order as this, and more especially in such a country as Piedmont, at such a season of the year. Thousands of families, comprehending the aged and infirm, the sick and afflicted, the mother advanced in pregnancy, and the one scarcely raised up from her confinement—the delicate female and the helpless infant—all compelled to abandon their homes in the very depth of winter, in a country where the snow is visible upon the tops of the mountains, throughout every month of the year. All this surely presents a picture of distress sufficient to rend the heart.

On the first issuing of the edict, the Waldenses sent deputies to the governor of the province, humbly represent-

ing to him the unreasonableness and the cruelty of this command. They stated the absolute impossibility of so many souls finding subsistence in the places to which they were ordered to transport themselves ; the countries scarcely affording adequate supply for their present inhabitants. To which they added, that this command was expressly contrary to all their rights as the peaceable subjects of his highness, and the concessions which had been uniformly granted them, of maintaining, without molestation, their religious profession : but the inhuman governor refused to pay the least attention to their application. Disappointed in this, they next begged time to present their humble supplication to his royal highness. But even this boon was refused them, unless they would allow him to draw up their petition and prescribe the form of it. Finding that what he proposed was equally inimical to their rights and consciences, they declined his proposal. They now found that the only alternative which remained for them was to abandon their houses and properties, and to retire, with their families, their wives and children, aged parents, and helpless infants, the halt, the lame, and the blind, to traverse the country, through the rain, snow, and ice, encompassed with a thousand difficulties.

But these things were only the beginnings of sorrow to this afflicted people. For no sooner had they quitted their houses, than a banditti broke into them, pillaging and plundering whatever they had left behind. They next proceeded to raze their habitations to the ground, to cut down the trees and turn the neighbourhood into a desolate wilderness ; and all this without the least remonstrance or prohibition from Gastaldo. These things, however, were only a trifle in comparison to what followed. But the reader will best learn this sad story from the parties who were interested in this melancholy catastrophe ; and the following is a copy of the letter which some of the survivors wrote to their Christian friends, in distant countries, as soon as the tragedy was over.

A brief Narrative of those horrible cruelties which were exercised against the Waldenses, in the late Massacre, in April, 1655.

BRETHREN AND FATHERS !

Our tears are no more tears of water but of blood, which not only obscure our sight, but oppress our very hearts. Our pen is guided by a trembling hand, and our minds distracted by such unexpected alarms, that we are incapable of framing a letter which shall correspond with our wishes, or the strangeness of our desolations. In this respect, therefore, we plead your excuse, and that you would endeavour to collect our meaning from what we would impart to you.

Whatever reports may have been circulated concerning our obstinacy in refusing to have recourse to his royal highness for a redress of our heavy grievances and molestations, you cannot but know that we have never desisted from writing supplicatory letters, or presenting our humble requests, by the hands of our deputies, and that they were sent and referred, sometimes to the council *de propaganda fide*,* at other times to the Marquis of Pionessa,† and that the three last times they were positively rejected, and refused so much as an audience, under the pretext that they had no credentials nor instructions which should authorize them to promise or accept, on the behalf of their respective churches, whatever it might please his highness to grant or bestow upon them. And by the instigation and contrivance of the Roman clergy, there was secretly placed in ambush an army of six thousand men, who, animated and encouraged thereto by the personal presence and active

* A Council established by the court of Rome for propagating the faith, or, in plain English, for extirpating heretics.

† This unfeeling man seems to have sustained the station of prime minister in the court of the Duke of Savoy, and commander in chief of his army.

exertions of the Marquis of Pionessa, fell suddenly, and in the most violent manner, upon the inhabitants of S. Giovanni and La Torre.

This army having once entered and got a footing, was soon augmented by the addition of a multitude of the neighbouring inhabitants throughout all Piedmont, who hearing that we were given up as a prey to the plunderers, fell upon the poor people with impetuous fury. To all those were added an incalculable number of persons that had been outlawed, prisoners, and other offenders, who expected thereby to have saved their souls and filled their purses. And the better to effect their purposes, the inhabitants were compelled to receive *five or six regiments of the French army*, besides some Irish, to whom, it is reported, our country was promised, with several troops of vagabond persons, under the pretext of coming into the valleys for fresh quarters.

This great multitude, by virtue of a license from the Marquis of Pionessa, instigated by the monks, and enticed and conducted by our wicked and unnatural neighbours, attacked us with such violence on every side, especially in Angrogne, Villaro, and Bobbio; and in a manner so horribly treacherous, that in an instant all was one entire scene of confusion, and the inhabitants, after a fruitless skirmish to defend themselves, were compelled to flee for their lives, with their wives and children; and that not merely the inhabitants of the plain, but those of the mountains also. Nor was all their diligence sufficient to prevent the destruction of a very considerable number of them. For, in many places such as Villaro and Bobbio, they were so hemmed in on every side, the army having seized on the fort of Mareburgh, and by that means blocked up the avenue, that there remained no possibility of escape, and nothing remained for them but to be massacred and put to death. In one place they mercilessly tortured not less than a hundred and fifty women and their children, chopping off the heads of some, and dashing the brains of others against the rocks.

And in regard to those whom they took prisoners from fifteen years old and upwards, who refused to go to mass, they hanged some, and nailed others to the trees by the feet with their heads downwards. It is reported that they carried some persons of note, prisoners to Turin, viz. our poor brother and pastor, Mr. Gros, with some part of his family. In short, there is neither cattle nor provisions of any kind left in the valley of Lucerne ;—it is but too evident that all is lost, since there are some whole districts, especially S. Giovanni and La Torre, where the business of setting fire to our houses and churches was so dexterously managed, by a Franciscan friar, and a certain priest, that they left not so much as one of either unburnt. In these desolations, the mother has been bereft of her dear child—the husband of his affectionate wife ! Those who were once the richest amongst us are reduced to the necessity of begging their bread, while others still remain weltering in their own blood, and deprived of all the comforts of life. And as to the churches in S. Martino and other places, who, on all former occasions, have been a sanctuary to the persecuted, they have themselves now been summoned to quit their dwellings, and every soul of them to depart, and that instantaneously and without respite, under pain of being put to death. Nor is there any mercy to be expected by any of them who are found within the dominions of his royal highness.

The pretext which is alleged for justifying these horrid proceedings is, that we are rebels against the orders of his highness, for not having brought the whole city of Geneva within the walls of Mary Magdalene church ; or, in plainer terms, for not having performed an utter impossibility, in departing, in a moment, from our houses and homes in Bubbiana, Lucerne, Fenile, Bricheras La Torre, S. Giovanni, and S. Secondo ; and also, for having renewed our repeated supplications to his royal highness, to commiserate our situation, who, while on the one hand he promised us to make no innovations in our lot, on the other refused

us permission to depart peaceably out of his dominions, which we have often entreated him for, in case he would not allow us to continue and enjoy the liberty of our consciences, as his predecessors had always done. True it is, that the Marquis of Pionessa adduced another reason, and we have the original copy of his writing in our possession, which is, that it was his royal highness's pleasure to abase us and humble our pride, for endeavouring to shroud ourselves, and take sanctuary, under the protection of foreign princes and states.

To conclude, our beautiful and flourishing churches are utterly lost, and that without remedy, unless our God work miracles for us. Their time is come, and our measure is full! O have pity upon the desolations of Jerusalem, and be grieved for the afflictions of Joseph. Show forth your compassions, and let your bowels yearn in behalf of so many thousands of poor souls, who are reduced to a morsel of bread, for following the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. We recommend our pastors, with their scattered and dispersed flocks, to your fervent Christian prayers, and rest in haste,

Your brethren in the Lord.

April 27, 1655.

The reader may collect from this letter some general notion of the tenor of the proceedings that were at this time carried on against the Waldenses in Piedmont; and they appear to have been extended progressively throughout almost the whole country. But if credit is to be given to the statements of our countryman, Sir Samuel Morland, who in the very same year was sent by the English government to administer pecuniary assistance to these afflicted people,—if any regard is due to the attestations which he has produced from persons who were spectators of the dreadful work of carnage, it is but a faint impression of the scene, which can be derived from that letter. The representation given us by Sir Samuel, and further cor-

roborated by Leger, in his General History of the Churches of Piedmont, beggars all description, for atrocity. Nor, if the infernal regions had been disembowelled of their inhabitants, and the whole let loose among the valleys of Piedmont, could we have expected the perpetration of greater enormities. The bare report of them spread amazement throughout all the Protestant states of Europe, as we shall presently see; and the principal actors in this deep tragedy found it necessary to aim at extricating their characters from the odium which attached to it. In particular the Marquis of Pionessa laboured to cast the blame upon certain officers of his army, which induced one of them, not only to give up the command of the regiment, but actually to draw up an affidavit, which he attested with his own hand, and got it further corroborated by the testimony of two of his brother officers, in vindication of his conduct in that affair. Sir Samuel Morland obtained possession of the original document, which he deposited in the University of Cambridge, along with an infinite number of other interesting manuscripts relating to this subject, and it appears of sufficient importance to be submitted to the reader's consideration.

“I, SIEUR DU PETIT BOURG, first captain of the regiment of Groncy, who also commanded the same, having received direction from Prince Thomas, to join the Marquis of Pionessa, who was then at La Torre, and to receive his orders—when I was upon the eve of departure, the ambassador sent for me, and desired me to speak to M. de Pionessa, and to use my endeavours to accommodate the troubles which had happened among those of the religion [of the Waldenses] in the valleys of Piedmont. In order to which I addressed myself to the marquis, earnestly entreating him that he would give way, and allow me to undertake an accommodation, which I suppose I might have been able to effect. But he repeatedly refused my request, in defiance of all the endeavours I could possibly use to

persuade him. And instead of the least mitigation of matters, which could be produced by any consideration that I could lay before him, I was witness to many acts of violence, and extreme cruelties exercised by the banditti and soldiers of Piedmont, upon all sorts of persons, of every age, sex, and condition, whom I myself saw massacred, dismembered, hung up; females violated, and numerous other horrid atrocities committed. And so far is it from being true that the whole was done by virtue of the orders that were issued by me, as falsely stated in a certain relation printed in French and Italian, that *I beheld the same with horror and regret.* And whereas it is said in the same relation, that the Marquis of Pionessa commanded me to treat them peaceably, without hostility, and in the best manner I possibly could, the event clearly demonstrated that the orders he gave were altogether of a contrary tendency, since it is most certain that without distinction of those who resisted, from those who made no resistance, they were used with all sorts of inhumanity—their houses burnt, their goods plundered, and when prisoners were brought before the Marquis of Pionessa, I was a witness to his issuing orders to give them no quarter at all, assigning as a reason, that his highness was resolved to have none of that religion in any of his dominions.

“And as to what *he protests* in the same declaration, namely, that no hurt was done to any, except during the fight, nor the least outrage committed upon any unoffending and helpless persons, I do assert, and will maintain, that such is not the truth, having seen with my own eyes several men killed in cold blood, and also women, aged persons, and children, miserably murdered.

“And with regard to the manner in which they put themselves in possession of the valley of Angrogne, to pillage, and entirely burn the same, it was done with great ease. For, excepting six or seven persons, who, seeing there would be no mercy shown them, made some show of resistance, the rest were dispersed without difficulty, the peasants

consulting how to flee, rather than how to fight the enemy. In short, I absolutely deny, and protest, as in the presence of God, that none of those cruelties were executed by my order; but, on the contrary, seeing that I could not procure a remedy, I was constrained to retire and quit the command of the regiment, not liking to be present at such wicked transactions.

“Done at Pignerol, November 27th, 1655.

“DU PETIT BOURG.”

Now whatever may be thought of this defence, or upon whomsoever the *onus* of guilt may devolve, it seems a fair inference from these documents, that cruelties of the most enormous kinds were at this time inflicted by the Catholic party upon the Waldenses throughout the whole country of Piedmont,—upon a class of men whose sole crime was, that they dissented from the communion of the church of Rome, and refused to countenance her idolatry and superstition. And that their sufferings were of no ordinary cast, may be inferred from the single consideration, that they excited the commiseration of, and, at the same time, extorted remonstrances from, almost every Protestant court in Europe, who raised large contributions to relieve the poverty, and sent their ministers to the court of Savoy, to intercede with the duke for the melioration of the condition, of his subjects. In this benevolent work, it is a gratifying reflection, that our own country took the lead, as will more particularly be shown in the next section: I shall close the present with an article of no inconsiderable interest in the history of the churches of Piedmont.

While the fire of persecution was, as we have seen, so fiercely raging against the Waldenses, in the early part of the year 1655, two persons who sustained the pastoral office, in the valley of Lucerne, were seized and sent as prisoners to the city of Turin, probably with a multitude of others who escaped the edge of the enemy's sword. It

is but doing justice to the Catholic party to say of them, that they seldom evinced their delight in human blood to such an excess as to prefer it to that of converting a heretic to *their* faith. In general they only gave it the preference to the alternative of allowing persons to think differently from themselves. Nor would it be fair to accuse them of remissness in their expedients and exertions to recover back again to the true church such as they supposed were gone astray. In that respect they could always display the wisdom of the serpent, though seldom, alas! the harmlessness of the dove. On the present occasion, the two pastors above referred to, whose names were PETER GROS and FRANCIS AGUIT, were unhappily entrapped by the monks of the inquisition, and they fell from their profession. The renunciation of their principles would ensure their liberation from prison. The chains were taken from their bodies, and they recovered their liberty—but in a short time the burden was transferred from the body to the mind, and their own consciences rendered them miserable. In this state of things, they applied for readmission into the churches, and the following declaration of the state of their minds was publicly made by them, before a full assembly of their brethren, convened at Pinache, in the valley of Perouse, on the 28th and 29th August, 1655, for the purpose of taking their case into consideration.

Most honoured Fathers and Brethren in the Lord.

We could have wished that a less mournful occasion had caused our present appearance in public, and that a more favourable opportunity had made us known to the world, by some notable action, the remembrance of which might have been as a blessing in the churches; but as our names can only be famous by the horrible scandal which we have brought upon the church of God, we now come forth out of the dark dungeons of our own shame and confusion, and present ourselves before men, to testify to all the world our conversion and repentance, and to give indubitable

proofs of our grief, for that we have been so base as to forsake our former profession.

When we reflect upon those advantages with which, above others, the Lord was pleased to bless us, in granting us a religious education, and the knowledge of his saving grace, thus teaching us where true happiness is to be found; and finally to have been called to the highest employment that men can have in this world, viz. to be the heralds of God's justice, and the preachers of his truth, we cannot, without horror, speak of our offence, and are constrained to confess that our sin is rendered much more odious in that, having known our Master's will, we nevertheless withdrew our shoulders from his service, and have acted in opposition to his command.

It was in these last calamities which have overrun our country, that we thus made shipwreck—after having lost our liberty and our goods—when the enemies of the truth, having resolved upon extirpating our religion in the valleys of Piedmont, exercised the most barbarous cruelties upon our countrymen. And we, having fallen into their hands, after they had showed us how far their inhumanity could reach, to give us a proof of the utmost degree of it, they caused us to be thrown into prison, when they proceeded against us, and sentenced us to death as guilty of high treason, and the ringleaders of rebellion, incessantly setting before our eyes the torments and punishments to which we were condemned; and, to render us more flexible to the enticements of the Jesuits, who, without ceasing, solicited us to accept of a pardon which they would obtain for us on our embracing Popery, and abjuring our religion.

At their first onsets, we were confident that, so far from yielding to them, we had strength and fortitude enough to despise whatever superstition could present before our eyes as terrible or dreadful—and that the dark and dismal shades of death itself, with which they threatened us, were insufficient to extinguish that heavenly light which then shined

in our souls. But to our extreme grief, we have learned how frail our nature is, and how deceitful the wisdom of the flesh, which, for the enjoyment of a frail and transitory life, prevailed upon us to forego those unspeakably good things which God hath prepared for his children, and that everlasting joy, of which those are made partakers who endure to the end. It was this fleshly wisdom, which, from a desire to preserve this house of clay, this earthly tabernacle, and to avoid a shameful death, and a punishment ignominious in the eyes of the world, that induced us to a shameful falling away, turning our backs upon him who is the fountain of life. We have lent our ears to this deceitful *Delilah*, and although there were not offered to us any reasons so strong as in the least degree to obscure the truth that we did profess, yet we freely acknowledge that the fear of death and the horror of torments, shook our courage, and beat down our strength; and we have decayed and dried up like water, not resisting to blood, as the profession, not only of Christians, but more especially of Christian ministers, obliged us to do.

Having been persuaded, by deceitful reasoning, that life is preferable to death—that we might be further profitable to the church, to our country, and to our families—that there was no glory in dying as rebels, and that one day we might get out of captivity, and manifest to the world, that if the confession had been wanting in our mouths, yet the faith had not been wanting in our hearts.—Thus we accepted of pardon on these miserable conditions, and have not hesitated to enter into the temple of idols, and employ our mouths and tongues in uttering blasphemies against the truth of heaven, in denying and abjuring the same; and our sacrilegious hands also in subscribing the acts and events of this infamous apostacy, which has drawn many others into the same perdition. Our light has become darkness, and our salt has lost its savour—we have fallen from heaven to the earth—from the spirit to the flesh—and from life to death. We have made ourselves obnoxious

to the curse which the Lord hath pronounced on those by whom offences come. And having made light of the threatenings of the Son of God against those who shall deny him before men, we have deserved to be denied by him before his heavenly Father. Finally, we have rendered ourselves unworthy of divine favours and mercy, and have drawn upon our guilty heads whatever is most dreadful in the wrath of God and his indignations—and have deserved to be rejected of the church as stumbling-blocks or rocks of offence, and that the faithful should even abhor our company.

But as we have learned in the school of the prophets, that the mercies of God are infinite, and that the Lord hath no pleasure in the destruction of his poor creatures, but calleth the sinner to repentance, that he may give him life, we presume to appear before his face, to humble ourselves in his holy presence, to bewail the greatness of our sin, and to make before him a free confession of our iniquity. O that our heads might melt into waters of bitterness, and our eyes were turned into fountains of tears, to express the grief wherewith our souls are pressed down. As our sin is of no ordinary measure, so it calls for extraordinary repentance; and as we acknowledge it to be one of the greatest that can be committed, so do we wish that our repentance should reach the lowest degree of humiliation, and that the acts of our contrition may be known to the world. If David, for lighter faults, was willing that his complaints and his deep sorrow and repentance should be left, as it were, for a memorial in the church, well may we not be ashamed to publish among men the inconsolable regret which we feel for having offended God, and giving an occasion of scandal to the assemblies of the saints; and we deserve to have imprinted upon our foreheads a mark of perpetual infamy for our miserable fall, to make the memory thereof continue for ever. And if we can make it apparent that the sorrow it hath begotten in us is extreme, and that we now disclaim whatever fear formerly forced us

to do contrary to the dictates of our consciences, we trust that he who forgave Peter when he denied Christ in the court of Caiaphas, will grant us the same grace, since we are come to ask forgiveness in all humility, with tears in our eyes, confession in our mouths, and contrition in our hearts ; and that, as there is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, so there may be joy in the congregation of the faithful when they shall behold our conversion to the Lord.

GREAT GOD ! ALMIGHTY FATHER ! dreadful in thine anger ; in whose presence no sinner can subsist a moment ; we prostrate ourselves at the feet of thy Majesty as poor miserable offenders, confessing that we have justly provoked thee to anger by our transgressions and iniquities, and drawn upon ourselves thy righteous judgments, in that we have forsaken thy heavenly truth, and bowed the knee before the idol ! But how shall we now appear before thee, O thou judge of the quick and dead, since by so doing, we have deserved to feel, not only in this life thy most severe rod and punishment, but that thou shouldest also cut us off from the number of the living, and cast us headlong into the lake of fire and brimstone, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth. O God ! rich in compassions and infinite in mercies ! which thou multipliest even in judgment ; turn us and we shall be turned ! be merciful to us, forgive us our offence ! blot out our iniquity ! and impute not our sin unto us ! Open unto us the door of thy grace ; that we may be partakers of this thy salvation. O Lord Jesus, Redeemer of souls, who camest into this world for the sake of poor sinners ; look upon our affliction ! Receive us to mercy ! and grant that, our sins being washed away in thy most precious blood, we may draw near to the throne of thy grace, with confidence to obtain mercy. Raise us up from our fall ! strengthen us in our weakness ! and although Satan hath sought to sift us, suffer not our faith [utterly] to fail ! Work in us effectually both to will and to do according to thy good pleasure. It is thou who

hast stretched out thine hand around us ! it is thy strong hand which hath helped us ! Thou hast taken us out of captivity both of body and soul, in which we lay languishing, and hast afforded us the liberty to call upon thy name ! Thou hast heard our cries out of the deep, and hast given us fresh cause to rejoice in thy goodness, and to bless thy holy name ; to whom be everlasting glory ascribed, at all times, and in all ages ! AMEN.

And you faithful souls, who witness our contrite heart and broken spirit before the Lord ; O commiserate our lamentable state ! Learn by our example, how great is human frailty, and what a precipice we fall into whenever God withdraws his supporting hand from us ! Consider, that as it hath been to us an extreme infelicity to have fallen into so great a sin, so have you an argument to rejoice in God through whose grace you have been given to stand ! Watch and pray that you enter not into temptation ! Hold fast that which you have, that no man take your crown ! Be faithful to the Lord Jesus even unto death, that so ye may obtain the crown of life ! And be assured that, aside from the profession of his truth, which you make to the exclusion of all other sorts of religion whatsoever, there is nothing but death, horror, and astonishment. This is a thing which we are enabled to assure you of from our own experience, because from the very first moment we gave our consent to this unhappy apostacy, our consciences have given us no rest at all ; and through their continual harassings and agitations, they have not suffered us to enjoy any of that comfort which a Christian soul experiences in tribulation, until it pleased God to draw us out of the filthy quagmire of Babylon, and caused us to return to his ways. And do you, Christians, lend your helping hand ; let your arms be opened to embrace us ; do not count us unworthy of your holy communion, although we have been an occasion of offence. Suffer us to pour into your bosom a torrent of tears, to deplore our condition, and to assure you, in the anguish of our souls, that our grief is greater than

we can express. Help us by your holy prayers to the Lord, and publish our repentance in all places, where you conceive our sin has been or shall be known, that so it may be evident to all the world that, from the very bottom of our souls, we grieve and are full of sorrow for it; and that, in the presence of God and of his holy angels, as well as of those who now witness our contrition, we do abjure and detest the pretended sacrifice of the mass, the authority of the Pope, and, in general, all the worship that is dependent on them. We recant whatsoever we have pronounced to the prejudice of evangelical truth, and promise, for the future, through divine assistance, to persevere in the profession of the reformed religion to the last moment of our lives, and rather to suffer death and torments, than to renounce that holy doctrine which is taught in our churches, and which we believe to be agreeable to the word of God; all which we protest and promise with our bended knees upon the earth, and our hands lifted up to the Eternal, our Almighty God, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; and as we desire his aid, to enable us to do this, even so may he help us, even our God. AMEN.

SECTION VI.

History of the Waldenses continued during the seventeenth century; with an account of the humane interference and generous conduct of the English nation towards their persecuted brethren in Piedmont; including the interesting Letters of Milton in their behalf, addressed to the Protestant States of Europe.

A. D. 1655.

AMONGST those who have made a conspicuous figure on the theatre of Europe, in modern times, there are few cha-

racters which historians have found it more difficult to delineate correctly than that of Oliver Cromwell. This extraordinary person held the reins of the English government, at the time the Waldenses were experiencing, in the valleys of Piedmont, the complicated sufferings which have been detailed in the preceding section. The strange combination of fraud and force, by means of which he grasped the supreme power of the state ; the rigour, and at times, the severity, with which he exercised it ; the facility with which he could violate, and even pour ridicule upon the constitutional principles of his country, trampling upon all the laws of the land, when they impeded his progress towards the attainment of any object on which he had set his mind, are certainly a tremendous weight to be placed in the scale against his inflexible opposition to Popery, his exertions in reforming the ministry of the established church, and even his occasional ebullitions of zeal to promote the interests of the gospel. There is but too much reason to fear that, with him, as with many other princes and statesmen, religion was made wholly subservient to his worldly interests.

And yet, it would be difficult to fix upon a period when our country was more prosperous at home, or sustained a higher character abroad, than during his protectorate. For, not to speak of the number of able and upright judges whom he introduced into Westminster Hall ; nor of the impartial administration of justice throughout the land ; nor yet of the attention which he showed to reform the national religion, by advancing men of learning and piety in the churches and discountenancing those of an opposite character ; he certainly contrived to support his reputation, both among his own subjects and with foreign nations, in a very extraordinary manner, even compelling those to fear who did not love him. His name was terrible throughout Europe, and "it was hard to discover," says Lord Clarendon, "which dreaded him most, France, Spain, or the Netherlands, in all which places his friendship was current

at the value which he chose to set upon it. For, as they all sacrificed their honour and their interests to his pleasure, so there was nothing he could have demanded that either of them would have denied him.”* The truth of this representation, and, in some measure, the pertinency of these reflections, will appear from the history on which we are now about to enter.

The council of Zurich, in Switzerland, were, by reason of their proximity to the valleys of Piedmont, the first who received intimation of the horrid massacre which had recently taken place there. The news reached them on the Lord’s day, April 29 ;—and such was the impression which it made upon them, that the town council immediately assembled, and issued a proclamation for a day of fasting and humiliation throughout all their territories ; at the same time recommending that collections should every where be made for relieving the wants of the poor sufferers. On the next day they drew up a letter addressed to the States General of Holland, of which the following is a copy.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS LORDS, &c.

Having this instant received the dismal news of the lamentable state of our brethren of the faith in Piedmont, as you may see by the copy of a letter now sent, we thought ourselves obliged by the sacred rights of faith, union and communion, to acquaint you therewith ; being fully assured that you will be pleased, according to your wonted piety and Christian charity, thoroughly to consider and lay

* It is related of Cardinal Mazarine, who at that time swayed the councils of the French cabinet, that he would change countenance at the very mention of his name ; and it passed into a proverb in France, that “ he was not so much afraid of the devil as of Oliver Cromwell.” Upon the whole, says the late Mr. Fox, “ the character of Cromwell must ever stand high in the list of those who raised themselves to supreme power by the force of their genius ; and among such, even in respect of moral virtue, it would be found to be one of the least exceptionable, if it had not been tainted with that most odious and degrading of all human vices, hypocrisy.”—HISTORY OF JAMES II. p. 18.

to heart this "affliction of Joseph." This persecution is smoothed over with a very fair pretext by the opposite party, but there is no one who loves the Church of Christ, that will not easily be persuaded of the subtleties and treacheries to which their adversaries alternately have recourse.

Moved by an ardent sympathy, we earnestly beseech you, most mighty and illustrious lords, that you would lay to heart the case of these afflicted people, and administer those means of relief which you may think conducive thereunto; not only by prayer to the Father of Mercies for them, and by granting them that pecuniary assistance which their miseries loudly call for, but also by pacifying their prince towards them; or at least, obtaining for them the liberty to emigrate, which we also shall, to the utmost of our power, endeavour to do. May the Sovereign Lord of all have mercy upon his church in every place; own their cause; and his Almighty arm avert their misery and adversities; to whose protection we heartily recommend you. Given, in haste, the 30th April, 1655.

The Consuls and Senators of the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland, viz. Zurich, Berne, Glaris, Schaffhouse, and Appenzel.

About the 20th of May an account of the Duke of Savoy's proceedings against the Waldenses reached England; and, to use the words of Sir Samuel Morland, it no sooner came to the ears of the Protector, than "he arose like a lion out of his place," and by the most pathetic appeals to the Protestant princes upon the continent, awoke the whole Christian world, exciting their hearts to pity and commiseration. The providence of God had so disposed events, that our great Poet MILTON filled the office of Latin Secretary to Oliver Cromwell at this critical juncture.* Never was there a more decided enemy to persecu-

* The office which Milton filled under the Protectorate was much the same as that which, in our day, is called "SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS." See Dr. Symmons's *Life of Milton*, p. 319.

tion on account of religion than Milton. He appears to have been the first of our countrymen who understood the principles of toleration, and his prose writings abound with the most enlightened and liberal sentiments. The sufferings of the Waldenses touched his heart, and drew from his pen the following exquisite sonnet.

ON THE LATE MASSACRE IN PIEDMONT.

Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughter'd saints, whose bones
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold;
Ev'n them who kept thy truth so pure of old,
When all our fathers worshipt stocks and stones
Forget not: in thy book record their groans
Who were thy sheep, and in their ancient fold
Slain by the bloody Piemontese that roll'd
Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans
The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
To heaven. Their martyr'd blood and ashes sow
O'er all th' Italian fields, where still doth sway
The triple tyrant; that from these may grow
A hundredfold, who having learned thy way
Early may fly the Babylonian wo.*

But this was a small portion of the interest which he took upon this affecting occasion. It devolved upon him by

* Dr. Warton, in his edition of Milton's minor poems, remarks upon this Sonnet, that "Milton's mind, busied with this affecting subject, here broke forth in a strain of poetry, where his feelings were not fettered by ceremony or formality." He adds that "The Protestants availed themselves of an opportunity of exposing the horrors of Popery, by publishing many sets of prints of this *unparalleled scene of religious butchery*, which operated like Fox's Book of Martyrs. Sir S. Morland, Cromwell's agent for the valleys of Piedmont, published a minute account of this whole transaction, in "The History of the Valleys of Piedmont, with numerous cuts, in folio, Lond. 1658." Among the latter, there is a print emblematical of the seventh and eighth lines of this Sonnet. Morland relates, that "A mother was hurled down a mighty rock, with a little infant in her arms; and three days after was found dead, with the little child alive, but fast clasped between the arms of the dead mother, which were cold and stiff, insomuch that those who found them had much ado to get the young child out." *Morland's History*, p. 363. See Warton's edition of Milton's Poems and Translations, with Notes and Illustrations. 2d Ed. Lond. 1791.

office to address the heads of the different Protestant states in Europe, with the view of interesting them in the affairs of the Waldenses; and his letters deserve to be handed down to the remotest ages of the world, as a noble instance of a benevolent and feeling mind, worthy of the author of *PARADISE LOST*. I shall, therefore, present the reader with the whole of them in this place, faithfully translated from the Latin originals. They are in themselves interesting; are intimately connected with the history of the Waldenses; and the Christian spirit that pervades them, redounds in the highest degree to the honour of the writer. Through what strange fatality it has come to pass, that an incident which reflects so much lustre upon the character of Milton, as the writing of these state-papers certainly does, should have been allowed to pass into oblivion, while many things of minor importance find a place in every memoir of the poet, it would probably be difficult to give a more plausible reason for, than the superior interest which most men take in the concerns of this present life, to those of the kingdom of heaven and of their immortal souls.

Before I introduce these interesting letters, however, to the reader's notice, I cannot deny myself the pleasure of laying before him the character that has been given of them by two distinguished writers of modern date; both of them members of our established church, and consequently not to be suspected of any undue partiality for the character or principles of Milton. The first to whom I refer, is Dr. Thomas Newton, bishop of Bristol, who in his life of our great poet, prefixed to his edition of the *Paradise Lost*, tells us that "the blindness [of Milton] had not diminished, but rather increased the vigour of his mind; and his state-letters will remain as authentic memorials of those times to be admired equally by critics and politicians; and those in particular about the sufferings of the poor Protestants [or Waldenses] in Piedmont, who can read without sensible emotion? This was a subject he had very much at heart, as he was an utter enemy to all sorts of persecution; and

among his sonnets there is a most excellent one upon the same occasion." Thus far Bishop Newton—the other writer to whom I alluded is Dr. Charles Symmons, the poet's last, and certainly ablest, biographer; who, referring to these letters, thus elegantly remarks: "The hand of the Latin Secretary most ably concurred with the spirit of the executive council; and during his continuance in office, which was prolonged to the Restoration, the state-papers in his department may be regarded as models in the class of diplomatic composition. They speak, indeed, the language of energy and wisdom; and are entitled equally to the applause of the scholar and the statesman. They must have impressed foreign states with a high opinion of that government for which they were written, and in the service of which so much ability was engaged. It may be observed, that the character of their immediate author is too great to be altogether lost in that of the ministerial organ; and that in many of them, Milton may be traced in distinct, though not in discordant existence from the power for whom he acts. The letters which he wrote in the Protector's name, to mediate for the oppressed Protestants of Piedmont,* whose sufferings had revived the horror of the Catholic atrocities in Ireland, might be cited in testimony of what I affirm. These official instruments are faithful, no doubt, to the general purposes of him under whose authority they were produced: but they exhibit also much of

* Dr. Symmons, in a note on this passage, remarks that "This active and powerful interposition of the Protector's was productive of its intended effect. The Catholic tyrant desisted from the slaughter of his innocent subjects, and those miserable people had a breathing time from their calamities. I call them, as they are called in these official dispatches, by the generally known name of Protestants: but the dissenters from the Papal church, who occupied the valleys of Piedmont, had neither connexion nor a common origin with those who were properly called Protestants, from one of the first acts of their association in Germany. THE WALDENSES asserted a much more ancient pedigree; and assumed to be of the old Roman church before it was corrupted by the Papal innovations." See *Life of Milton*. 2d Edit. 1810. p. 317—319.

the liberal and benevolent spirit of the Secretary: their mirror cannot be convicted of falsehood or perversion: but with unquestionable flattery, it reflects the harsh features of the English usurper so softened into positive beauty as to conciliate our affection equally with our respect."

One of the first of Cromwell's measures was to appoint a day of fasting and prayer, to seek the Lord in behalf of the melancholy condition of this afflicted people; a public declaration of their state was also issued, calling the inhabitants throughout the land to join in free and liberal contributions towards their succour and support, in which the Protector himself set them a noble example, by commencing the subscription with a donation of TWO THOUSAND POUNDS from his own private purse. And that no time might be lost, in testifying his good will towards the Waldenses, on the 23d of May, Sir S. Morland received orders to prepare for setting off with a message from the English government to the Duke of Savoy, beseeching the latter to recall the merciless edict of Gastaldo, and to restore the remnant of his poor distressed subjects to their homes and the enjoyment of their ancient liberties.

On the 26th of May, Mr. Morland took his departure for the continent, being charged, on his way to Piedmont, with a letter from the Protector to the French king, relating to the Waldenses, in whose recent murder, as the reader will have already noticed, some French troops had been employed. The following is a copy of the letter which, on the first of June, the English envoy delivered at La Fere, where the king and court of France were then residing.

MOST SERENE KING!

The lamentable complaints which have been conveyed to us from those poor and afflicted people, who profess the reformed religion, and inhabit the valleys within the dominions of the Duke of Savoy; and who have of late been most cruelly massacred; together with the melancholy ti-

dings we have received concerning the plundering and banishing of others, have extorted from us these letters to your majesty; and the rather, as we have been informed. how truly we know not, that this massacre has been carried on, *partly by some troops of yours*, which had joined themselves to other forces belonging to the Duke of Savoy.

We were very unwilling to give any credit to these things, because it cannot be thought consonant to the purposes and proceedings either of good princes or of your majesty's most prudent ancestors, who conceived it to be their interest, and not less conducive to the peace of Christendom, that their Protestant subjects should live in safety, and enjoy protection under their government, for which they have always been grateful, and rendered eminent services to their sovereigns, in times both of peace and war. Similar considerations have hitherto induced the Dukes of Savoy to treat their subjects with equal kindness. Now we doubt not but that your majesty has so much influence with the Duke of Savoy, that by your intercession, a peace may be procured for those poor people, with liberty to return to their native country. The performance of this would be an act worthy of your majesty, and conformable to the example set you by your predecessors, while it would, at the same time, set the minds of your own subjects at rest, by assuring them that *they need not fear a repetition of such evils among them*; and also confirm your confederates and allies, who profess the same religion, in greater respect and affection for your majesty. With respect to ourselves, any favour of this kind which you shall grant to your own subjects, or which you may obtain for the subjects of others, will be not less acceptable to us; indeed it will be more so, than any other profit or advantage, among the many which we promise ourselves from the friendship of your majesty.

OLIVER P.

Westminster, May 25, 1655.

The King of France lost no time in returning a very complaisant and satisfactory answer to this letter, in which he assures the Protector that the manner in which his troops had been employed by the Duke of Savoy or his ministers was very far from meeting with his approbation—that they had been sent by him into Italy, to assist the Duke of Modena against the invasion which the Spaniards had made upon his country—that he had already expostulated with the court of Savoy for having employed them in an affair of that nature without his authority or command—and that he had sent to the governor of his province of Dauphiny, requesting him to collect as many of the poor exiled Waldenses as he could, to treat them with gentleness, and afford them every protection they might stand in need of. He tells his highness that, knowing, as he now does, how much he is affected by the distress of these Waldenses, it gives him pleasure to think he has already anticipated his wishes, and that he shall continue to use his influence with the prince for their relief and comfort, and indeed that he had already proceeded so far as to pledge himself for their obedience and fidelity, in case the Duke of Savoy would re-establish them in his dominions, and that he had grounds to hope his mediation would not be rejected. “As to what remains,” continues his majesty, “you were perfectly right in believing that I had given no orders to my troops to execute such a business as this—nor was there the least ground to suppose that I should contribute to the chastisement of the subjects of the Duke of Savoy who professed the reformed religion, while I was giving so many proofs of my good will to those of my own subjects of the same profession, whose fidelity and zeal for my service I have great reason to applaud, since they omit no opportunity of evincing their loyalty, *even beyond all that can be imagined*, and in every thing contributing to the prosperity and advantage of my affairs. So much in answer to your letter; but I cannot conclude without re-

questing you to be assured that, upon every occasion you shall find how much I esteem your person, and that, from the bottom of my heart, I pray the Divine Majesty that he would have you in his holy keeping."

Signed,

LOUIS.

Having delivered the Protector's letter to the King of France, and received the preceding reply to it, Sir Samuel Morland proceeded on his journey towards Savoy, and upon the 21st of June arrived at Rivoli, a city about two miles from Turin, where the duke, who seems to have been a minor, then was with his royal mother and the court. Two days afterwards he obtained an audience, and introduced himself in an elaborate Latin oration, which he delivered in the presence of the duke, Madame Royal, and all the court, and in which he painted in strong colours the accounts that had been received in England concerning the dreadful atrocities that had been recently perpetrated upon the Waldenses by means of the soldiery—describing "the houses on fire, which," says he, "are yet smoking—the mangled carcasses, and ground defiled with blood—virgins violated, and, after being treated with brutal outrage too indecent to be mentioned, left to breathe out their last—men a hundred years old, helpless through age and bedridden, burnt in their beds—infants dashed against the rocks," &c., &c. "Were all the tyrants," says he, "of all times and ages alive again, they might blush to find that, in comparison of these things, they had contrived nothing that deserved to be called barbarous and inhuman! The very angels are seized with horror at them! Men are amazed! Heaven itself seems to be astonished with the cries of dying men, and the very earth to blush, being discoloured with the gore of so many innocent persons," &c. Having finished his harangue, Sir Samuel presented to the duke the following letter, with which he had been charged by his master the Lord Protector.

MOST SERENE PRINCE!

We have received letters from several places near your dominions, informing us that the subjects of your royal highness, professing the reformed religion, have of late, by your express order and command, been required, under pain of death and confiscation of their estates, to abandon their houses, possessions, and dwellings, within three days after the publication of that order, unless they would pledge themselves to relinquish their religious profession and become Catholics within twenty days. And that when, with all becoming humility, they addressed themselves to your royal highness, petitioning for a revocation of that order, and a reception to former favour with a continuance of such liberties as were granted them by your most serene predecessors, a part of your army fell upon them, most cruelly massacred many, imprisoned others, banishing the rest into desert places and mountains covered with snow, where some hundreds of families are reduced to such extremity, that it is to be feared they will all miserably perish, in a short time, with hunger and cold.

When intelligence was first brought us that a calamity so awful had befallen those most miserable people, it was impossible for us not to feel the deepest sorrow and compassion. For, as we are, not only by the ties of humanity, but also by religious fellowship and fraternal relation, united to them, we conceived we could neither satisfy our own minds, nor discharge our duty to God, nor the obligations of brotherly kindness and charity, as professors of the same faith, if, while deeply sympathizing with our afflicted brethren, we should fail to use every endeavour that was within our reach, to succour them under so many unexpected miseries.

We, in the first place, therefore, most earnestly desire and entreat your highness that you would reconsider the acts and ordinances of your most serene predecessors, and

the indulgences which were by them granted from time immemorial, and ratified to their subjects of the valleys. In granting and confirming which, as, on the one hand, they unquestionably did that which in itself was well pleasing to God, who intends that the law and liberty of conscience shall remain wholly in his own power, so, on the other, it cannot be doubted but that they had a respect also to the merit of their subjects, whom they had always found faithful in war and obedient in time of peace. And as your serene highness has imitated the example of your predecessors, in all other things that have been so graciously and gloriously achieved by them, so we beseech you again and again that you would abrogate this edict, and any other that has been issued for the disquieting of your subjects on account of their religion; that you would restore them to their native homes and the possession of their properties; that you would confirm to them their ancient rights and liberties, cause reparation to be made to them for the injuries they have sustained, and adopt such means as may put an effectual stop to these vexatious proceedings. In doing this, your royal highness will perform what is acceptable to God, comfort and revive these miserable and distressed people, and give satisfaction to all your neighbours professing the reformed religion, and especially to ourself, who shall regard your favour and clemency towards them as the effect and fruit of our mediation, which we shall consider ourself bound to requite by a return of every good office, while it will also be the means of not only laying a foundation for our good correspondence and friendship, but also of increasing it between this commonwealth and your dominions. And this we promise ourself from your justice and clemency; whereunto we desire God to incline your heart and mind, and so we sincerely pray that he would confer on you and on your people peace and truth, and that he would prosper you in all your affairs.

Given at our palace at Westminster, May 25, 1655.

OLIVER P.

As soon as the duke and his mother had made themselves acquainted with the contents of this letter, Madame Royal addressed herself to the English minister, and told him that “as, on the one hand, she could not but extremely applaud the singular charity and goodness of his highness, the Lord Protector, towards their subjects, whose situation had been represented to him so exceedingly lamentable, as she perceived by his discourse had been done, so, on the other, she could not but extremely wonder that the malice of men should ever proceed so far as to clothe *such paternal and tender chastisements of their most rebellious and insolent subjects*, in characters so black and deformed, thereby to render them odious to all the neighbouring princes and states with whom they were so anxious to keep up a good understanding and friendship—especially with so great and powerful a prince as the Lord Protector.” She at the same time, gave him to understand that “she was persuaded, when he came to be more particularly informed of the truth of all that had passed, he would be so perfectly satisfied with the duke’s proceedings, that *he would not give the least countenance to his disobedient subjects*. However, for his highness’s sake, they would not only freely pardon their rebellious subjects for *the very heinous crimes which they had committed*, but would also grant them such privileges and favours as could not fail to give the protector full proof of the great respect which they entertained for his person and mediation.”

These plausible professions, while they no doubt display the usual finesse of politicians, yet certainly evince no ordinary measure of respect for the head of the English government, and are much more complaisant than was the style in which the same lady had previously addressed Major Weis, the deputy from the Swiss cantons. For when this latter gentleman delivered to the duke a letter from the six Protestant cantons of Switzerland upon the same melancholy occasion, Madame Royal promptly replied, that *they were not obliged to give an account of their*

actions to any prince in the world ; nevertheless, out of the respect which they bore to his masters of the cantons, they had given orders to the Marquis of Pionessa to acquaint him with the truth of all these affairs.

The marquis, in consequence, waited upon Major Weis, and endeavoured to justify all his proceedings, by casting the whole blame upon the Waldenses, repeatedly protesting that he never had the least design to force their consciences, and that all the reports which had been circulated respecting the massacre and other cruelties, were mere forgeries. To all which the major replied, that “with regard to the massacre, it was a thing so demonstrably evident, that it was impossible either to conceal or deny it. And as to the people’s right of habitation in the places from whence they were ordered to depart, it was founded upon justice and equity, inasmuch as it had not only been conceded to them by Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, *but also purchased of his royal highness for six thousand ducatoons, which were actually paid by them on that very account.*” The marquis told him, that he did not at all deny the authenticity of the charters which the Waldenses held, but *they were all conditional*, and that the Catholic religion ought to have been freely exercised in all those places, which they would never allow. In short, that their continual residence in all those places for the last ninety years, could be called no better than a ninety year’s rebellion and disobedience. Such was the miserable pleas of this intolerant and bloodthirsty man.

It is obvious from all that can be collected of the temper and influence of the Marquis of Pionessa, the bigoted attachment of the duke and his mother to the court of Rome, and the firm hold which the Catholic clergy had then got of their minds, that there was not the smallest disposition in the court of Savoy, to mitigate their sufferings, or abate the rigorous proceedings which had hitherto been going on against the Waldenses ; and that had it not been for the seasonable interference of the English envoy, the

Swiss deputy would have made no impression whatever upon them. But let us now revert to the further proceedings in England. Besides the letter to the King of France and that to the Duke of Savoy which I have already given, the following were transmitted on the same occasion.

THE LORD PROTECTOR TO THE KING OF SWEDEN.

MOST SERENE KING,

The report has, no doubt, ere this, reached your dominions, of that most cruel edict which has been issued by the Duke of Savoy, by means of which he has utterly ruined his subjects of the Alps, professing the reformed religion; having given orders that they should be driven out of the places of their inheritance, unless, within twenty days, they relinquished their own and embraced the Roman religion. The consequence has been that, many having been slain, the remnant, plundered and exposed to certain destruction, are at this moment wandering up and down with their wives and little ones, through desolate mountains of never-wasting snow, ready to perish through hunger and cold—nor can we doubt that your majesty is greatly troubled at these things. For, though in lesser matters they differ among themselves, yet the hatred of our adversaries which is common to us all, sufficiently demonstrates that the Protestant name and cause is one. Nor can any be ignorant, that your royal progenitors, the kings of Sweden, have always made common cause with those of the reformed religion, bringing their armies into Germany to defend it, without regard to minute distinctions.

We have, therefore, thought it necessary to state to your majesty, what has come to our knowledge of the wretched and miserable condition of these poor distressed people, and to give you to understand the grief and sorrow with

which we are afflicted on their behalf, as we have also done to our other friends and allies of the same profession; and that we have also conveyed our sentiments in the strongest manner we could to the Duke of Savoy, on the behalf of these poor innocent people. We are also persuaded that your majesty, detesting such inhuman and barbarous massacres, and in conformity to your well-known zeal and love of religion, has already, or immediately will, interpose your mediation, and intercede with the Duke of Savoy to revoke that cruel edict, and recal to their habitations and estates the little remnant of those poor men that are yet left unbutchered.

And, certainly, if there be any bond of union, if any love or fellowship in religion is to be either believed or cultivated, such a multitude of our guiltless brethren, members of the same body of Christ, cannot suffer without the whole body suffering, and having a mutual sympathy with them. And, indeed, it is unnecessary to remind your majesty that the principles from whence these cruelties and massacres have proceeded, equally threaten us all. As your wisdom and zeal, therefore, will direct you to such counsels as shall be most conducive to the relief and comfort of these miserable and disconsolate men, we have not written this to admonish your majesty, but merely to convey to you the sense we entertain of their sufferings, and our readiness to communicate with you in whatever may tend to their succour, and for the support of the Protestant interest in the world. In the mean-time we heartily recommend your majesty unto God Almighty.

Your majesty's good friend,

OLIVER P.

Given at our palace at Westminster, May 25, 1655.

THE LORD PROTECTOR OF ENGLAND TO THE KING OF
DENMARK.

MOST SERENE KING,

We presume your majesty must have heard, ere this, by how severe and merciless an edict, Emanuel, duke of

Savoy, has, for the cause of religion, driven out of their native country, his subjects who inhabited the valleys of the Alps—a harmless people, who for many ages have been retaining the purity of their religious profession; and that very many of them being slain, he has exposed the rest naked and destitute, to all kinds of mischiefs and miseries in desolate places; nor can we doubt that, as became so great a patron and defender of the reformed religion, you have been deeply affected with sorrow on this account. For certainly, agreeably to the laws of Christianity, if our brethren are suffering calamities and misery, we all ought to sympathize with them; and, indeed, if we have been correctly informed of your prudence and piety, no man can be more apprehensive than your majesty, of the danger which this example portends to the whole Protestant profession.

We are, therefore, induced to write you freely, wishing you to understand that we entertain the same sorrow for the calamity of our most innocent brethren, and the same opinion and judgment concerning the whole of this matter, which we trust you have. We have also written letters to the Duke of Savoy, in which we have implored him to commiserate these unhappy people, by listening to their petitions, and not permitting that cruel edict to continue in force. And if your majesty and the other princes of the reformed religion will do the same (which it is very probable you have already done) we may hope that the mind of the most serene duke may be softened, and, at any rate, that he will, at the earnest solicitation of so many neighbouring princes, lay aside his displeasure. But if, instead of doing that, he chooses rather to persist in his purpose, we declare that, assisted by your majesty, and the rest of our allies of the reformed religion, we are prepared to have recourse to such measures as may, to the utmost of our power, relieve the distress, and provide for the safety and the liberty of so many poor afflicted people.

In the mean-time we pray God to bless and prosper your majesty.

Your majesty's good friend,

OLIVER P.

*Given at our palace of Westminster, the——day of May,
Anno Dom. 1655.*

TO THE HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS!

You have, no doubt, ere this, been apprised, by means of various expresses and advices from the neighbouring states, of the recent edict of the Duke of Savoy against his subjects of the valleys of Lucerne, Angrogne, and other parts of his dominions, who have long professed the orthodox faith—by which edict, they were enjoined to quit their dwellings, stript of all their possessions, unless in twenty days they embraced the Roman religion. You are not ignorant of the rigour with which, by virtue of that edict, they have proceeded against men both inoffensive and helpless, and (which most nearly touches us) those who are our brethren in Christ, multitudes of them having been murdered by a party of soldiers sent against them, the rest plundered and driven out of their houses, insomuch that they are forced to wander about, with their wives and children, in desolate mountains, exposed to the continual miseries of cold and hunger. Of your distress, and the sense you entertain of our brethren's calamity, we can form some apprehension from our own feelings. For, united as we are by the bond of religious friendship, we cannot but be affected by so heavy an oppression of our brethren. Your lordships have given abundant proof of your kindness towards the professors of the reformed religion wherever scattered and oppressed, in the most difficult and adverse times of the churches; and, for our own part, we

had rather be found wanting in any thing, than in our zeal and affection towards our brethren who are suffering for the cause of religion, preferring, as we do, the peace and prosperity of the churches, to our own ease and safety.

We have, on this account, written to the Duke of Savoy, entreating him to entertain a more favourable regard towards those harmless men, his suppliants and subjects; to restore to them their houses and property, and grant them their ancient religious liberties, as we have also done to the King of France, requesting him to intercede with the said duke in their behalf. We have also written to other princes and states of the Protestant profession, as well as yourselves, conceiving this to be a common cause, that they would unite with us in this intercession. For if an example so evil as that is, should come to be followed, which seems to be the intention of those who contrived it, we need not apprise you of the danger to which the Protestant faith must be thereby reduced. And if the duke can be persuaded and prevailed upon by our joint entreaties, it will surely be a happy and satisfactory remuneration of all the labour we have taken therein. But if, on the other hand, he shall continue firmly resolved utterly to destroy, and drive to a state of distraction, those men, among whom our religion was either planted by the first preachers of the gospel, and so maintained in its purity from age to age, or else reformed and restored to its primitive purity more early than among many other nations; we hereby declare ourselves ready to advise, in common with you, and the rest of our brethren and allies of the reformed religion, by what means we may most conveniently provide for the preservation and comfort of those distressed people.

OLIVER P.

Palace of Westminster, May 25, 1655.

THE LORD PROTECTOR TO THE SWISS CANTONS.

MOST NOBLE LORDS !

The calamity which has lately befallen those people in the Alps, who are of the same religious profession as ourselves, must necessarily have come to your knowledge before it did to ours. They were required by an edict of the Duke of Savoy, under whose dominion they were, to forsake their native country, unless they would, in three days give assurance that they would embrace the Roman religion. Nor was that all, for they were immediately afterwards assaulted by force of arms; numbers of them put to death, and others driven into banishment, who are now wandering in a state of wretchedness, with their wives and children, over desert mountains covered with snow, without house or shelter, in want and nakedness, ready to perish with cold and hunger. Nor can we doubt but that, as soon as the report of these things came to your ears, a calamity such as this must have affected you, as sensibly as it did ourself; and perhaps more so, in as much as the proximity of your situation must have made your apprehensions of their misery more lively; for we very well know your singular zeal for the orthodox faith, as well as your great constancy in retaining, and your fortitude in defending the profession of it.

Seeing then that, by the endearing ties of religious fellowship, we are brethren, or rather one body with these afflicted men—of which body no one member can suffer, but all the fellow-members must suffer with it; we thought proper to write to you, and to signify how much we considered it to be the common interest of us all to assist and comfort our exiled and disconsolate brethren, by such means as shall be thought proper and suitable, and thereby make provision both for removing the present evils, preventing their accumulation, and the danger to which we are exposed by the example and effects of this act. We

have consequently written letters to the Duke of Savoy, intreating him to deal more gently with his faithful subjects, and restore them to their property and native countries. We trust that he will be prevailed upon by our, or rather by the joint entreaties of us all, and that he will cheerfully grant what we so anxiously desire. But should it turn out that he is differently minded, we are ready to advise with you about such means as may be most conducive to the redress and relief of these poor innocent men, our dear brethren in Christ, who groan under so many injuries and oppressions; and which may preserve them from a most certain and unmerited destruction, and whose safety and preservation, from your well known piety, we are persuaded, lies very near your hearts.

OLIVER P.

Westminster, May 25, 1655.

OLIVER, PROTECTOR OF THE REPUBLIC OF ENGLAND, TO
THE MOST SERENE PRINCE OF TRANSYLVANIA.

MOST SERENE PRINCE!

Your letters of the 16th of November, 1654, have communicated to us the pleasing intelligence of the extraordinary good will and affection which you bear towards us, and your ambassador, who delivered those letters to us has more fully declared the desire which you have to contract an alliance and friendship with us.

For our own part, we certainly do not a little rejoice in the opportunity which is now afforded us of publicly avowing the cordial esteem which we have for your highness, and how much we value your person. But after all that public rumour had conveyed to us of your meritorious exertions and indefatigable labours undertaken in behalf of the Christian republic; and learning, as we now do, by letters from yourself, imparting to us, in the most friendly manner, what you have further in contemplation to do for promoting the Christian interest, we could not but consider

it as an abundant occasion of joy and satisfaction, to hear that God had raised up to himself, in those remote regions, so powerful and renowned a minister of his glory and providence; and that this great minister of Heaven, so famed for his courage and success, should wish to be associated with us in the common defence of the Protestant religion, which is at this time so wickedly assailed in word and deed. Nor can we doubt that God, who has inspired us both, though separated from each other by many intervening climates, with similar desires and purposes of defending the orthodox religion, will be our guide, and point us to the ways and means by which we may successfully promote our own interests and those of the other reformed countries, provided we watch the opportunities of so doing which God shall put into our hands, and be not wanting to ourselves in embracing them.

In the mean-time, we cannot but with extreme and heart-rending sorrow put your highness in mind, how unmercifully the Duke of Savoy has persecuted his own subjects, professing the orthodox faith, in certain valleys at the feet of the Alps; whom he has, by a most severe edict, not only compelled, at least such of them as refuse to turn Catholics, to forsake their native habitations, goods, and estates, but has also fallen upon them with his army, inhumanly put several to the sword, barbarously tormenting others to death, and driving the greater part of them to the mountains, there to perish through cold and hunger, exposing their houses to the fury, and their goods to the plunder, of his executioners. These things, as they have already been reported to your highness, so we readily persuade ourselves, that such cruelty cannot but be grievously displeasing to your ears, and that you will not be found wanting to afford your relief and succour to those wretched sufferers, if, indeed, any of them survive their multiplied slaughters and calamities.

For our part, we have written to the Duke of Savoy beseeching him to remove the fierceness of his anger from

his subjects. We have also written to the King of France that he would do the same ; and, finally, we have addressed the princes of the reformed religion with the view of making them acquainted with our sentiments respecting this fierce and savage piece of cruelty, which though it has commenced with those poor and helpless people, threatens eventually all that profess the same religion ; and, consequently, imposes upon all the greater necessity of providing for themselves in general, and consulting the common safety ; which is the course we shall always follow as God shall be pleased to direct us. We beg your highness to be assured of this, as well as of our sincere affection for your serenity, which induces us to wish all possible prosperity and success to your affairs, and a happy issue of all your enterprises and endeavours, in asserting the liberty of the gospel and its worshippers.

Whitehall, May, 1655.

OLIVER, PROTECTOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND, TO THE MOST NOBLE, THE CONSULS AND SENATORS OF GENEVA.

We should ere this have communicated to your lordships our excessive sorrow for the severe and unheard of calamities which have befallen the Protestants inhabiting the valleys of Piedmont whom the Duke of Savoy persecutes with so much cruelty, had we not made it our business that you should, at the same time, understand that we are not only affected by the enormity of their sufferings, but are exerting our utmost efforts to relieve and comfort them under their distresses. For this purpose we have taken measures to have a general collection throughout the whole of this republic, which, upon good grounds, we expect will be such as shall demonstrate the affection of this nation towards their brethren labouring under the burthen of such inhuman proceedings ; and that as the communion of religion is the same between both people, so the sense of their ca-

lamities is no less the same. In the mean-time, while the collections of the money are going forwards, which it may require some time to finish, and as the wants and necessities of those distressed people will not well admit of delay, we have thought it proper to remit you before hand two thousand pounds sterling with all possible speed, to be distributed among such as shall be considered most necessitous, and that more particularly require present succour and relief.

And as we are not ignorant how deeply the miseries and wrongs of those very harmless people have affected yourselves, and that you will not grudge any labour or pains which may contribute to their relief, we make no scruple to commit the distribution of this sum of money to your care, and to give you this further trouble, that according to your wonted piety and prudence, you would take care that the said money be distributed equally to the most necessitous, to the end that, though the sum be small, there may, nevertheless, be something to refresh and revive the most indigent and needy, till we can afford them a more plentiful supply.

And thus, not doubting but that you will take in good part the trouble imposed upon you, we beseech Almighty God to stir up the hearts of all his people professing the orthodox faith, to resolve upon the common defence of themselves, and their mutual assistance of each other, against their inveterate and most implacable enemies! in doing which we should rejoice that our helping hand might be any way serviceable to the church.

Farewell.

June 8, 1655.

P. S. £1,500 of the aforesaid £2,000 will be remitted by Gerard Hench, from Paris, and the other £500 will be taken care of by letters from the Lord Stoup.

These letters abundantly prove the firm hold which the case of the Waldenses had taken on the mind of the Em-

glish government, and the lively interest which the latter so honourably took in their affairs. I cannot, however, dismiss this part of the subject without laying before the reader one letter more, not only because it is intimately connected with the narrative, but because it exhibits a pleasing specimen of the liberal and enlightened policy of the protector's councils. It was written in the following year, and addressed to the king of Sweden, who was, at that moment, threatening the States of Holland with a war.

OLIVER, PROTECTOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND, &c., TO THE MOST SERENE PRINCE, CHARLES GUSTAVUS, KING OF THE SWEDES, GOTHIS, AND VANDALS, &c.

MOST SERENE KING, OUR DEAREST FRIEND AND CONFEDERATE.

As we are fully assured of your majesty's concurrence both in thoughts and councils for the defence of the Protestant faith against its enemies, which never was more dangerously assailed than at present; though we cannot but rejoice at your successful enterprises and the daily tidings of your victories, yet we cannot, on the other hand, but be as deeply concerned at one thing which disturbs and interrupts our joy; we refer to the sad news which is intermingled with so much welcome tidings, that the ancient friendship between your majesty and the States of the United Provinces presents a gloomy aspect, and that the mischief is exasperated to that pitch, particularly in the Baltic Sea, as seems to forebode an unhappy rupture! We acknowledge ourselves ignorant of the causes; but we too easily foresee that the events, which God avert, will be fatal to the interests of the Protestants. And, therefore, both out of regard to that most intimate alliance now subsisting between us and your majesty, and also from that affection and love to the reformed religion, by which we ought all of us chiefly to be

swayed, we consider it our duty, as we have most earnestly exhorted the States of the United Provinces to peace and moderation, so now to persuade your majesty to the same. The Protestants have enemies every where enough and to spare, inflamed with inexorable revenge: nor were they ever known to have conspired more perniciously to our destruction—witness the valleys of Piedmont still reeking with the blood and slaughter of the miserable—witness Austria, lately embroiled with the emperor's edicts and proscriptions—witness Switzerland. But it is needless to expatiate at large in recalling the bitter lamentations and recollections of so many calamities! Who so ignorant as not to know that the councils of the Spaniards and of the Roman pontiffs, for these two years past, have filled all these places with conflagrations, murders, and persecutions of the orthodox? But, if to these mischiefs there should happen the still greater evil of dissension among the Protestants themselves, who are brethren, and more especially between two powerful states, on whose courage, wealth, and fortitude, so far as human strength may be relied on, the support and hope of all the reformed churches depend, the Protestant religion must necessarily be in great jeopardy, if not upon the brink of destruction. On the other hand, if the whole Protestant name would but preserve perpetual peace among themselves, cultivating that brotherly union which becomes their profession, there would be no occasion to fear what all the artifices and power of our enemies could do to hurt us, which our fraternal concord and harmony alone would easily repel and frustrate. And, therefore, we most earnestly request and beseech your majesty to foster in your bosom propitious thoughts of peace, and a disposition of mind to repair the breaches of your ancient friendship with the United Provinces, if in any part it may have accidentally suffered the decays of mistakes and misconstructions.

If there be any thing on which our labour, our fidelity and diligence may be useful towards effecting a compromise, we tender and shall cheerfully devote all to your ser-

vice. And may the God of heaven favour and prosper your noble and pious resolutions, which together with all felicity and a course of perpetual victory, we cordially wish to your majesty.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

OLIVER, Protector, &c. &c.

From our palace, Westminster, August, 1656.

It has been already noticed that, upon the very first annunciation of the distresses of the Waldenses, the Protector issued a proclamation for a day of national humiliation throughout all England and Wales; commanding, at the same time, that collections should be made in all the churches and chapels for their relief; and a committee, consisting of about forty of the first of the nobility, gentry, and clergy, was formed for conducting it, Sir Thomas Viner, and Sir Christopher Pack, aldermen of London, being appointed treasurers. In no long time the sum total of the collections amounted to THIRTY-EIGHT THOUSAND, TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-ONE POUNDS TEN SHILLINGS AND SIX PENCE,* which, if we take into account the relative value of money between that and the present time, must certainly give us a very favourable impression of the liberality of our forefathers. Nor is it less gratifying to witness such a proof of the humane and benevolent spirit which, as Protestants, our countrymen evinced on an occasion that so justly called for it.

For the satisfaction of the community at large, the protector and his council ordered a narrative to be published, explanatory of their proceedings, with a very minute and circumstantial account of the sums contributed, specifying the counties, the number of parishes in each, with the precise amount of their contributions, as well as of the applica-

* Of this amount the cities of London and Westminster contributed the sum of £9,384 6 11, exclusive of the £2,000 given by the protector.

tion that was made of the same, through the medium of Sir Samuel Morland, who, to carry into effect the liberality of the English people, was ordered to take up his residence at Geneva, a city contiguous to the valleys of Piedmont, where he continued about three years.

The whole of the document referred to is interesting—but occupying, as it does, twelve pages in folio, its entire insertion in this place is impracticable. I shall, however, gratify the reader with the introductory paragraph.

“ His highness, the Lord Protector, having received intelligence about the month of May, 1655, that many hundreds of the poor Protestants in the valleys of Piedmont (otherwise known by the name of Waldenses) within the territories of the Duke of Savoy, were most cruelly massacred by a Popish party; and having upon his spirit a deep sense of their calamities, which were occasioned by their faithful adherence to the profession of the reformed religion, was pleased, not only to mediate, by most pathetic letters, in their behalf, to the King of France and Duke of Savoy, but did also graciously invite the people of this nation to seek the Lord by prayer and humiliation, in reference to their then sad condition and future relief; and from a confidence that the good people of this nation would be sensibly touched ‘with the afflictions of Joseph,’ and in that day of their brethren’s trouble manifest a sensible resentment of, and sympathy with, the sufferings of their fellow-members, professors of the same faith; did forthwith publish a DECLARATION, expressing his earnest desire that the people might be stirred up to a free and liberal contribution towards their succour and support: for the management of which collection, certain instructions were also agreed upon, and annexed to the said declaration: and for the more effectually promoting of the work, his highness appointed a committee, consisting of persons of known honour, fidelity, and integrity, to consider and advise, from time to time, how the money that should be thereupon raised, might be employed most advantageously, for the cer-

tain supply of those poor distressed members of Christ, corresponding with the real intentions of the givers; amongst whom likewise there were two select persons of very considerable estate and reputation, appointed to be treasurers for the receiving in of the said moneys, whose names, together with the number and names of the afore-said committee, for the reader's better satisfaction, are here inserted," &c.

It must afford pleasure to every benevolent mind to reflect upon the interest that was now taken in the fate of the Waldenses by all the Protestant states of Europe; at the same time that it gives us a satisfactory pledge of the high estimation in which that particular class of Christians was universally held. The Elector Palatine of the Rhine, the Elector of Brandenburg, the Duke of Wirtemburgh, and almost every Protestant prince and state upon the continent, wrote letters to the Duke of Savoy, declaring their abhorrence of that sanguinary massacre, and interceding for his persecuted subjects. Sir Samuel Morland has preserved faithful copies of most of these letters; but none of them is more pointed or deserving of the reader's attention than that of THE LANDGRAVE OF HESSE, and as it is concise, I here subjoin it.

SIR !

Having lately received the news of that cruel massacre, committed upon the Protestants, who are commonly known by the name of Waldenses, inhabiting your valleys of Angrogne and Pragela, in Piedmont, I could not easily be brought at first to give credit to such a dismal story, as not being once able to imagine, that even their adversaries had been so audacious as to exercise such barbarous cruelties upon poor innocent people, who lived peaceably under the government of your highness, and in entire obedience, without giving the least offence to any, and who, for so long a time together, have obtained protection and security from both you and your ancestors. And, indeed, I so

much the less imagined this, from the persuasion I had, that their enemies had learned, by the experience of so many ages, that persecutions and butcheries are not the means to suppress our religion, but rather to preserve and spread the same abroad. But this news having been written and confirmed to me from so many places, and that with circumstances so wholly deplorable, as that I could no longer remain in doubt, it has seized me with horror; and, consequently, being moved with pity and compassion towards *so many thousands of souls in such extreme distress*, who have been most cruelly robbed and spoiled of their lives and estates, by the cruelty of their furious and sworn enemies, and this without distinction either of sex or age, I have thought it my duty as a Christian prince, interested in the preservation of those of my religion, to write this present letter to your highness, and to beseech you not only to command and allow that the remainder of those poor innocent people who have escaped the violence of their persecutors, be established in their lands, goods, and possessions, which are yet left them after this great desolation, but also that they may find the effects of this powerful protection; and that you will be pleased, for that purpose henceforward to favour them, by patiently hearing their complaints, and taking cognizance of them yourself, as a good and righteous prince, from whom they ought to expect all the effects of justice, clemency, and bounty: whereas those who term themselves “of the congregation for the propagation of the faith, and for the extirpation of heretics,” are their declared enemies; and instead of turning souls to righteousness by “the sword of the word,” have employed the temporal sword, the fire, and the rope, and all the barbarous cruelties which outrageous men could possibly invent for (tormenting) the bodies of those poor creatures, and to destroy them from off the face of the earth. I most earnestly beseech your highness to grant the aforesaid requests, and to be assured of my inviolable affection for your interests and service, and that I shall account it a happi-

ness to have an opportunity of giving you real testimonies of the same ; as being, &c.

WILLIAM, Landgrave of Hesse Cassel.

July 23, 1655.

The annals of Europe scarcely afford an instance of such a state of cordial harmony and mutual consent, among the different states and nations in any affair of religion as, at this juncture, appeared in behalf of the poor Waldenses. Their case was clearly understood, and generally and deeply felt. It was purely a case of persecution for conscience' sake; and taking all the circumstances into account, it was an instance of such atrocious and brutal outrage, as the world had rarely seen paralleled. It came home to the breasts of all the Protestants in Europe, and they took a lively interest in it. Men's expectations were raised to a very high pitch, and their attention fixed upon the Protestant princes, anxiously waiting to see whether they would tamely put up with such an open and diabolical attack upon their general cause, for such they regarded this; or whether by a joint co-operation of power and influence they would at once relieve and re-establish their distressed friends.

At this eventful moment the Swiss Cantons, who certainly lay the most contiguous to the valleys of Piedmont, finding that they were ably supported by all the Protestant states of Europe, undertook to mediate with the Duke of Savoy in behalf of the exiled Waldenses, and sent four of their leading men as commissioners to the court of the latter, authorized with powers to negotiate a treaty of accommodation; and the rest of the European princes had such confidence in them, that they unanimously agreed to relinquish the affair into their hands. The names of these commissioners were, Solomon Hirtzel, Charles von Bonstetten, Benedict Socin, and James Stockar.

It would be uninteresting and tiresome to the reader, to trace minutely the progress of this negotiation. And it

but too plainly appears from the result, that the Swiss commissioners were by no means a match for the jesuitical casuistry of the court of Savoy. A treaty, however, was at length agreed upon and ratified between the parties; but "when it came to be published to the world," says Sir S. Morland, "and accurately examined by wise and sober men, it was found to resemble a leper arrayed in rich clothing and gay attire! It was a treaty as full of grievances as poor Lazarus was of sores! The greater part of the articles of which it consisted, clashing with the people's interests and ancient privileges, and the remainder made up of expressions which looked as many ways as the mariner's compass. In short, it cannot be more fitly compared to any thing than to Ezekiel's roll, which, though it were as sweet as honey in the people's mouths, yet there was written within nothing but lamentation, and mourning, and wo." And such it proved in the issue, for no sooner had the Swiss commissioners taken their departure for their own country, than an infinite number of difficulties and grievances came crawling out of the said treaty, like so many hornets out of a hollow tree, and they continued to sting the poor Waldenses to death.

An effort was certainly made by those that were in exile, to avail themselves of the conditions of this treaty, of which, as it was intended for their benefit, they were disposed at first to think very favourably. But a little experience convinced them that it was not in reality what their friends wished for them. On the 29th of March, 1656, a general meeting of the churches of the valleys of Piedmont took place, at which they drew up a paper entitled, "THE GRIEVANCES OF THE TREATY MADE AT PIGNEROL." It is truly an affecting document, and that the reader may form some judgment of it, I shall subjoin the first paragraph. They complain that in the preamble to the treaty, they are recognized as *rebels*, and disobedient persons who had taken arms against his royal highness, their natural prince and sovereign, and thereby, as persons who were

guilty and deserving of his indignation, they are described as asking pardon for those outrages which, it was pretended, they had committed; and thus, say they, “we are plainly involved in the crime of rebellion, against which we do now, and always have protested; having never done any one act that can justly subject us to that imputation—no, not even when the whole state was in an uproar—nor even when they came to destroy us, as they did last year; for although we had very great cause of suspicion, as is but too manifest from the event, having granted for the most part to the squadron of Savoy their winter quarters, yet no sooner had the Marquis of Pionessa charged us, in the name of his royal highness, to receive his forces, than, without making the least resistance, we permitted them to enter and do whatever they chose.” This is the first of fifteen articles of grievance which they enumerate.

This melancholy catalogue of their grievances was drawn up with a view of making an appeal concerning them to the King of France, and imploring his interposition to get them redressed. Accordingly having specified these defects in the articles, they subjoin a list of thirteen other particulars, which had been refused to their deputies, on which they humbly pray that due reflection may be made. Among other matters, they plead, that “having been always faithful to the service of his royal highness their sovereign, and yet cruelly massacred, burned, and pillaged, contrary to his intention, he would be pleased to give orders that justice might be done upon those that had been the chief authors and agents against them—that his royal highness would be pleased to repeal the Order of Gastaldo, as being contrary to all their ancient concessions, and likewise all the orders which the Marquis of Pionessa had caused to be published during the late contest, and to command that every one might be restored to his own property and possession—that they might no longer be subject to the quartering of soldiers upon them, a thing with which they had been harassed ever since the year 1624, and which had

been made a pretext for the readier method of destroying them, but that in lieu of it, they might be allowed, in common with others, to contribute their proportion in money—that no more (Catholic) missionaries might be sent into the valleys, because, *partly by their rapes*, and partly by seditions and false reports, these missionaries had always been fomenters of all the disorders that came to pass—that, in short, they might not be subject to the council *de propaganda fide*, nor to any of its members, nor to the inquisition; but that every thing might be re-established in the condition it was before the late troubles, with liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of their religion, with license to their ministers to go and visit the sick wherever they lived, as well as the liberty of preaching the gospel, &c., &c., and the whole terminates with the following affecting appeal:

“We hope from the equity and clemency of his royal highness, that he will the more readily grant us these privileges, as there is nothing in them but what we have quietly enjoyed under the happy government of his most serene predecessors of glorious memory, according to their concessions, and nothing but what may tend to satisfy us in the clearing of those points, which, as experience hath showed us, have been wrested to a wrong sense, and to represent the true meaning and the equity of the particulars therein contained, that so we may, once for all, take away from the disturbers of our peace all occasion of troubling the public tranquillity, and be enabled, in peace and security, to render to God that which belongs to God, and to Cæsar what is Cæsar’s; as we do protest before God and his holy angels, that we ever have had, and will ever have the same for our aim. And to the end that those things, before expressed, may stand firm and inviolable, we humbly supplicate his most Christian majesty, that he will be pleased to procure unto us this favour from our prince, that all may be put into the form of a transaction, and confirmed, not only by the chamber of Turin, but also in that

of Chambery, and that many original copies may be drawn, and delivered into the hands of those to whom it shall appertain."

This affecting document was delivered into the hands of Monsieur de Bais, the French minister, and by him transmitted to his royal master, who, upon receipt of it, expressed great concern for the deplorable condition of the poor Waldenses, but his kind intentions towards them were entirely frustrated by some malignant spirits near the throne. "But, so it happened," says Sir Samuel Morland, "that from this time forward, the leading men in the court of Savoy, have used their best endeavours to lay heavier loads on their backs, than ever they had hitherto done. For in their orders of April 20, and October 6, 1656, and August 24, 1657, they summoned the poor people to pay their taxes for the year 1655, contrary to the treaty, while they exempted the Catholics from the said taxes: and when they appealed to the duke, October 6, 1657, on the hardship of their case, they were, among other things, absolutely prohibited the exercise of their public worship in San Giovanni. It would be endless to repeat all the edicts, orders, and injunctions that were issued against them after the cruel patent in 1655, with all their consequent grievances; and it is painful to dwell upon so melancholy a subject." Our countryman, Sir Samuel Morland, remained among them until the summer of 1658, at which time he thus affectingly closes his narrative. "It is my misfortune that I am compelled to leave these people where I found them, among the potsherds, with sackcloth and ashes spread under them, and lifting up their voice with weeping, in the words of Job—'Have pity on us, have pity on us, O ye our friends, for the hand of God hath touched us.'—To this very day they labour under most heavy burdens, which are laid upon them by their rigid taskmasters of the church of Rome—forbidding them all kind of traffic for their subsistence—robbing them of their goods and estates—banishing the pastors of their flocks, that the wolves may the more readily devour

the sheep—violating the young women and maidens—murdering the most innocent as they peaceably pass along the highways—by cruel mockings and revilings—by continual threats of another massacre, sevenfold more bloody, if possible, than the former. To all which, I must add that, notwithstanding the liberal supplies that have been sent them from England and other places, yet so great is the number of these hungry creatures, and so grievous are the oppressions of their Popish enemies, who lie in wait to bereave them of whatever is given them, snatching at almost every morsel that goes into their mouths, that even to this day, some of them are almost ready to eat their own flesh for want of bread. Their miseries are more grievous than words can express—they have no ‘grapes in their vineyards—no cattle in their fields—no herds in their stalls—no corn in their granaries—no meal in their barrel—no oil in their cruse.’ The stock that was gathered for them by the people of this and other countries is fast consuming, and when that is spent, they must inevitably perish, unless God, ‘who turns the hearts of princes as the rivers of water,’ incline the heart of their prince to take pity on his poor, harmless, and faithful subjects.”*

SECTION VII.

History of the Waldenses continued; including a narrative of the sanguinary proceedings of the Catholics against them in Poland.

A. D. 1658.

THE return of Sir Samuel Morland from his mission to the court of Turin, gave him an opportunity of laying before the English government a minute and circumstantial

* Morland’s Churches of Piedmont, p. 682—708.

explanation of the state of the Waldenses in Piedmont, at the time of his departure in 1658. The substance of this account, the reader has already seen, in the close of the last section, and its truth and accuracy are further ascertained by a letter, bearing date 30th of November, 1657, from the four Swiss commissioners who, two years before, had been engaged in negotiating the treaty of Pignerol. This letter is addressed to Monsieur de Servient, ambassador of the French king, who was present at the ratification of the treaty, and, as it would seem, had taken a considerable interest therein. The Swiss commissioners complain that the conditions of the treaty were grossly violated by the adversaries of the Waldenses; that interpretations were put upon various clauses contained in it, the reverse of what they were intended to bear; and, in short, that the situation in which these poor people were now placed, called loudly for the cognizance and interference of the court of France, which stood pledged to see the conditions of the treaty punctually fulfilled. They, in particular, notice the lawless procedure of the military towards the Waldenses, in plundering them of their fruits, which they carried away without the least ceremony, committing robberies in their houses, and spoiling them of their goods—that “they were laden with reproaches and injuries, beaten and wounded; the virtue of their females attempted, with numerous other outrages, altogether inexcusable.” “That several persons who had been sent to settle among them in the capacity of pastors and teachers, from their sister churches in Dauphiny, had been seized and banished out of the country, on the ground that they were not natives, and that therefore the conditions of the treaty did not extend to them—and that, in particular, one of their pastors who had exercised the holy ministry among them for thirty years, together with one Mr. Arnold, a physician, had been turned out and banished, so that by these and similar means many churches and congregations were at once deprived of the food of their souls and com-

fort of their bodies. After enumerating a long catalogue of similar grievances, they say, "Now as these things have happened to our friends and associates in religion, *so palpably contrary to our expectation*, our hearts are so much the more sensibly affected by it, both because we were present in the name of our lords and superiors at the negotiating of the treaty, and because we are personally interested therein." They, therefore, supplicate his excellency to interpose his mediation for the good of their friends, and for his own interest and honour's sake; and to insist that the spirit and meaning of the treaty be in future fully and absolutely observed. The subject was also taken up by the English government, as appears by the following letters, both of which bear date May 26, 1658.

HIS HIGHNESS THE LORD PROTECTOR TO THE KING OF
FRANCE.

MOST SERENE AND MOST POTENT KING!

Your majesty may remember, that while the treaty was going on about remedying the alliance between us—an alliance that has now happily commenced, as the many advantages resulting to both nations, and the numerous inconveniences which arise from it to our common enemies, abundantly show—the dreadful slaughter of the Waldenses took place; and that, with the utmost affection and humanity, we recommended the case of those afflicted and destitute people to your clemency and protection.

We are far from thinking that your majesty has been wanting in the exercise of your influence and authority with the Duke of Savoy to promote so pious and humane an object: and as for our part, we, and many other princes and states, have not failed to interpose by embassies, letters, and entreaties. After a most inhuman slaughter of persons of both sexes, and of every age, a peace was, at last, concluded, or rather *a more concealed course of hos-*

*tility under the disguise of peace.** The conditions of the treaty were agreed upon in your town of Pignerol—hard ones indeed—but such as those poor people, after having undergone every species of outrage and cruelty, would cheerfully acquiesce in, hard and unjust as they are, were they only observed, but they are not observed. For, by a false interpretation of every article, and by one subterfuge or other, their real meaning is eluded, and faith violated. Multitudes are ejected from their ancient possessions; many prohibited the exercise of their religion; new payments are exacted; a new fort is built for the purpose of placing a yoke upon them, out of which the soldiers sally forth, plundering and putting to death all they meet. Besides which, new forces are of late privately prepared against them, and those who profess the Romish religion among them are directed to withdraw for a time; so that every thing seems again to portend the slaughtering of those miserable creatures who escaped the former butchery—a thing which I entreat and beseech your majesty that you will not suffer to be done; nor permit, I do not say any prince,—for such enormous cruelty cannot enter into the heart of any prince, much less can it befall the tender age of that prince, or the mind of his mother,—but those most savage murderers, to exercise such a license of outrageous tyranny: Men who, while they profess themselves the servants of Christ, and followers of him who came into the world to save sinners, at the same time abuse his merciful

* It may not be improper in this place to correct a very inaccurate statement of this matter which appears in Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. IV. ch. iii., under the year 1655. Referring to the interference of the Protector with the Duke of Savoy, it is said, upon the authority of Bishop Burnet, "Upon this the persecution immediately ceased; the duke recalled his army out of the valleys, and restored their goods; the poor people returned to their houses, and *recovered all their ancient rights and privileges.*" How far this representation corresponds with the truth of things, let the impartial reader judge after carefully perusing the preceding pages, and the representation that Milton has given of the real state of matters, in this and the following letter.

name and meek precepts, to perpetrate the most cruel massacres on innocent persons. Oh, that your majesty, who are able, and, advanced as you are to such exalted dignity, who are worthy of the power you possess, would rescue so many of your poor petitioners out of the hands of bloody men, who having been lately drunk with blood, are again thirsting after it, exulting when they are enabled to fix the invidious charge of cruelty upon princes themselves; but let not your majesty allow the borders of your kingdom to be defiled by such cruelty. Recollect, that those very people threw themselves under the protection of King Henry, your grandfather, a firm friend of the Protestants, when the Duke of l'Esdiguieres, passing through their country, which affords the most convenient entrance into Italy, prosecuted his victory against the Duke of Savoy, who retreated beyond the Alps. The instrument of their submission remains among the public records of your realm to this day; in which, among other things, it is excepted and provided, that the people of the valleys should not, at any future time, be transferred to the jurisdiction of any other prince, but upon the same conditions on which they were received into the protection of your majesty's victorious grandfather.* The same protection they once more implore, and submissively entreat from his grandchild. Their anxious wish is, that, in some way of exchange, if it can be effected, they may become your subjects, rather than remain his under whom they now are. But if that cannot be effected, that they may, at any rate, obtain from you, patronage, protection, and refuge. There are also reasons of state which should induce your majesty not to abandon the Waldenses—but I am not willing that so great a king should be stimulated to the relief of men whose circumstances are so pitiable, by any other reasons than the obligations of fidelity given by your

* In this last sentence Milton seems to throw some light upon a subject which has been more than once hinted at in the preceding pages.

ancestors and your own piety, added to your royal benignity and the greatness of your own mind. Thus the honour and renown of an act so truly glorious will be wholly your own, and thereby your majesty, as long as you live, may expect to find prosperity and blessings from the Father of mercies himself, and from his Son Christ the King, whose name and doctrine you will be the means of vindicating from detestable villany.

Given at our court at Westminster, May 26, 1658.

THE PROTECTOR TO THE EVANGELICAL CANTONS OF
SWITZERLAND.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND MOST MAGNIFICENT LORDS!

Although it is impossible for us to contemplate the monstrous cruelties which have been inflicted upon your poor distressed neighbours of the valleys, without astonishment; or the grievous and intolerable things to which they have been subjected by their prince, on account of their religion; we thought it needless to write to you, to whom those things must be better known than to us. We have seen copies of the letters which your ambassadors, who were parties and witnesses to the peace lately made at Pignerol, wrote to the Duke of Savoy, and the president of his council at Turin; in which they particularly show that all the articles of the peace have been broken, and that they have been made use of for the purpose of deceiving, rather than of affording protection to these miserable people. But must they patiently bear this violation of the articles, which began the instant peace was concluded, and has been persevered in to the present moment, and which grows more intolerable every day? Are they to submit basely, and give themselves up to be trodden under foot and utterly ruined? The same calamity hangs over their heads, and another massacre similar to that which wasted and destroyed them, with their wives and children in so shocking

a manner about three years ago, which, should it take place, must inevitably extirpate them. What can these poor distressed creatures do, who have no door opened for petitioning, no space for breathing, nor any place of security to which they can flee? They have to do with wild beasts, or rather with furies, in whom the recollection of former slaughters has effected no repentance, nor any compassion towards their own countrymen, no sense of humanity, no satiety with the shedding of blood! In plain terms, these things are not to be endured, whether we regard the safety of our brethren of the valleys—those most ancient professors of the orthodox faith—or of religion itself.

As to our part, remote as we are in situation from them we have done every thing that was in our power, nor shall we cease to perform whatever is yet possible for them. But as to you who are so near, not only to the miseries and lamentations of our brethren, but exposed also to the fury of the same enemies, we beseech you, by every thing that is sacred, to consider, and that without delay, what it behooves you to do at this moment—consult your own prudence, your piety, and even your fortitude, what assistance or relief you can or ought to extend to your neighbours and brethren who, otherwise, are ready to perish. It is the very same cause of religion, for which the same enemies would have destroyed you also—yea, on account of which they would, in the preceding year, during the civil war among your confederates, have effected your destruction. Next to the help of God, it seems to devolve on you, to provide that *the most ancient stock of pure religion*, may not be destroyed in this remnant of its ancient faithful professors, whose safety, reduced as it now is to the extremity of hazard, if you neglect, beware that the next lot do not speedily fall upon yourselves!

While in this free and fraternal manner we thus exhort you, we, in the mean-time, do not faint or grow weary. Whatever was in our power, at this remote distance, we

have done. We have contributed our utmost endeavours, and shall continue so to do, both for procuring the safety of those that are in danger, and relieving the necessities of those that want. May God grant to both of us such tranquillity and peace at home, and so prosperous a state of affairs and of opportunities, that we may employ all our power, strength, and means for the defence of the church, against the rage and fury of its enemies.

Westminster, May 26, 1658.

The letter addressed to the King of France, was transmitted to Lord Lockhart, who then filled the office of English ambassador at the French court, to whom the Protector, at the same time, wrote, giving him instructions to present the letter to his majesty, and pointing out eight principal topics of grievance which he was to adduce in his conversation with that monarch, and to use his utmost endeavours to make his majesty sensible of them, and to persuade him to give immediate and positive instructions to his ambassador, then resident at the duke's court, to act vigorously in behalf of the oppressed Waldenses. He was also to urge the obligations the French king lay under, to fulfil the engagement of his royal predecessor Henry IV. with the ancestors of these very people, and to press the King of France to make an exchange with the Duke of Savoy for the valleys of Piedmont, resigning some part of his own dominions to the latter in lieu thereof.

In the same year, 1658, and at the moment that the English government was making such laudable exertions to relieve the Waldenses in Piedmont, the news arrived of another dreadful scene of cruelty and distress exercised towards a branch of the same people, inhabiting a distant quarter. The three following papers, which, like the whole of the melancholy subject to which they relate, have since sunk into the most profound oblivion, were printed BY AUTHORITY, at the time; and as they sufficiently explain themselves, it is needless to introduce them by any

formal preamble. There can be little doubt that the first of them was the composition of Milton: and the original now before me, which is printed in **black letter**, has the Protector's arms prefixed to it.*

A Declaration of his Highness, for a collection towards the relief of divers Protestant churches driven out of Poland; and of twenty Protestant families driven out of the confines of Bohemia.

HIS HIGHNESS, the Lord Protector, having received a petition from several churches of Christ, professing the reformed religion, lately seated at Lesna, and other places, in Poland, representing their sad and deplorable condition, through the persecution and cruelty of their antichristian enemies in those parts, in the time of the war in Poland, by whom they have not only been driven from their habitation and spoiled of their goods, upon the account of religion

* It is a mortifying reflection, that these interesting letters should now be almost forgotten as the composition of our great poet. Whence comes it to pass that while Milton's defence of the People of England is so generally known, no one ever speaks of his defence of the Waldenses? It will be difficult to assign a more plausible reason for this, than the unpopularity of the subject. The Waldenses were "a poor and afflicted people," the subjects of a Kingdom that is not of this world, and they were treated by their adversaries as "the filth of the world and offscouring of all things." But Milton understood their character, and duly appreciated it. He recognized in them his Christian brethren; their distress not only reached his ears, but roused all the sensibilities of his soul; he participated in their sorrows, and his letters in their behalf do as much honour to the benevolence of his heart, as his immortal poem of *Paradise Lost* does to the sublimity of his genius. If the present work contain any thing of sufficient interest to give it a temporary buoyancy upon the ocean of public opinion, and prevent its rapid transition into the gulf of oblivion—that insatiable vortex which has already swallowed up myriads of much more important publications, the author would persuade himself it must be those excellent letters of our great poet Milton, which, in the capacity of Latin Secretary to Cromwell, he wrote to the Protestant Princes upon the Continent, pleading the cause of the poor, afflicted, and grossly injured Waldenses.

only; but forced to fly into Silesia, for the preservation of their lives, and for the liberty of their consciences; where a considerable number of them continue in great want and misery—the truth whereof hath been witnessed, as well by deputies sent unto his highness from the said churches, authorized by an instrument under the hands of the pastors of five of those churches, as also by the testimony of several Protestant princes, who, out of a deep sense of the calamity of those distressed exiles, have afforded them shelter until it shall please the Lord otherwise to provide for them. And his highness having, in like manner, received a petition from twenty Protestant families heretofore seated in the confines of Bohemia, where Misnia belongs unto it, representing their distressed and lamentable condition, through the persecution of the jesuits and inquisitors of the house of Austria, by whom they have been driven out of their habitations, and spoiled of their goods, upon the sole account of their religion; who now, for the safety of their lives, and for the liberties of their consciences, are retired into the marquisate of Culembach, where they find a present shelter in this their very sad and calamitous condition, which hath been witnessed both by their deputies sent unto his highness, authorized by an instrument under the hands of the chief of those families, as also by a public certificate from thence. And it being the earnest desire of the said afflicted churches and families, as well by their several petitions, as by their deputies, that his highness, out of compassion to their sufferings, would be pleased to recommend their lamentable condition to their brethren in these nations, in whom they hope to find bowels of mercy, yearning towards those who, professing the same faith with them, are now under so great extremities and misery for the cause of the gospel, and testimony of the Lord Jesus.

His highness being greatly afflicted with the miserable and calamitous condition of the said churches and families, and not doubting but the people of these nations, whom

the Lord hath graciously and wonderfully preserved from that antichristian bondage and tyranny, will have a fellow-feeling of the afflictions of their brethren, hath, with the advice of his privy-council, thought fit to recommend their case to the charity of those whose hearts the Lord shall stir up in these nations, to afford them some seasonable relief, whose liberality in this kind hath been testified in their large contributions to the relief of the poor Protestants in the valleys of Piedmont, to the refreshing of their bowels (touching the faithful distribution whereof, an account is ordered by his highness to be printed for general satisfaction.) And to the end the said collections may be carefully made, and the money thereupon collected be disposed of, to the relief of the said poor churches and their members, and the families aforesaid, and to no other uses, his highness doth hereby require and command the ministers and churchwardens of the respective parishes within England and Wales, and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, the next Lord's day after this declaration shall come unto their hands, to publish the same, and on the Lord's day following to make a collection of the charitable contribution of the people in their parishes, and that within three days after, they pay over the sum or sums so collected unto the high sheriff of the respective counties, to be by him paid into the hands of Sir Thomas Viner and Sir Christopher Pack, knights, Aldermen of the city of London, who are appointed treasurers for this service, and who shall transmit the moneys so to be by them received for the relief of the said poor distressed churches and their members, and the aforesaid twenty families, in such manner and proportions as the committee formerly appointed for the disposing of the moneys for the relief of the said poor Protestants in Piedmont, shall, with respect to their several numbers and sufferings, think fit and direct, and to the end that none of the moneys collected for so pious and charitable an end may miscarry, the ministers and churchwardens aforesaid are

enjoined, upon payment of the said money to the respective sheriffs as aforesaid, to send up unto the said Sir Thomas Viner a note in writing under their hands, of the sum so collected, the parish and county where such collection was made, and the person to whom the same was paid, to the end care may be taken, and the same may be duly returned and employed to the use intended.

By the Committee for the Affairs of the poor Protestants in the Valleys of Piedmont.

The all-wise and holy God, whose ways of providence are always righteous, though often secret and unsearchable, hath made it the constant lot and portion of his people in this world, to follow the Lord in bearing the cross and suffering persecutions, thereby holding forth and verifying that irreconcilable enmity between the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent, which was visible betimes in the bloodshed of righteous Abel, whom Cain (though his brother) slew, being of the wicked one, yea, and for this cause, for that his own works were evil, and his brother's good. Thus they that are born after the flesh, persecute them that are born after the spirit to this day, and so will do while the world lasteth. In which cause and quarrel the Lord hath very many glorious ends. But scarcely have any sort of the church's enemies more clearly followed the pernicious ways of Cain herein, than hath the anti-christian faction of Rome done, that Mother of Harlots and Abominations, whose garments are died red with the blood of saints, which they have always cruelly shed, and made themselves drunk with, even with the blood of those holy followers of the Lamb, chiefly who would not receive Anti-christ's mark, nor worship his image, nor drink of the golden cup of his fornications, but rather come out from them, and witness against them, though they did it in sackcloth, and were slain for it.

Among those chosen and faithful witnesses, the Lord seemeth very signally to have raised up those Christians, who, though dispersed in divers countries, have been commonly known by the name of Waldenses, who for some centuries of years, have lived among their enemies as lambs among wolves, to bear their testimony for the truth of Christ, against the apostacies and blasphemies of Rome, for which they have been killed all the day long, and appointed as sheep for the slaughter. Nevertheless, the Lord, the great Shepherd of the sheep, hath made their blood thus shed, to become a constant seed of faithful and valiant witnesses for him: which is, indeed, the more marvellous in our eyes, that this bush hath so long burned, and is not yet consumed.

This little flock and remnant which the Lord hath left and reserved are scattered partly in the valleys of Piedmont, of whose tragical sufferings we have not long since heard, and have drawn forth our bowels to them, whereof a very faithful account is given to the world, both for the satisfaction of brethren and friends, and for stopping the mouths of all calumnies.

The other part of this poor, yet precious remnant, have been dispersed in the kingdoms of Bohemia and Poland, whose sufferings, together with the Lord's signal providences about them, have been very eminent and remarkable, as hath been made appear unto us by three godly persons, delegated by those persecuted churches, which are now the sad monuments of their enemies' rage, and of the Lord's sparing mercies.

These have made their addresses to his highness the Lord Protector, by petition, declaring the deplorable estate wherein this persecuted remnant now lieth, and with loud cries importuning the Christian bowels and bounty of this nation, which cannot be moved to mourn over them, and to show mercy to them. And, indeed, upon a due sense and consideration of this lamentable subject, even common

humanity, but much more Christian charity, should provoke us to a fellow-feeling of their present distressed condition.

These sometime flourishing churches, were, by degrees, worn out by the constant underminings and open outrages of the antichristian party, being first driven out of Bohemia into Poland, then after their taking root and spreading in Poland into a numerous company, were forced out of the chief cities there, and now, at last, by the jesuited and enraged Polish army, persecuted in their few hiding places, with fire and sword.

Their ministers were tortured to death by most exquisite and unheard of barbarism, by cutting out of the tongues of some, pulling out the eyes and cruelly mangling the bodies of others; nor did their rage and brutish cruelty reach only to ministers, but to others, yea even to women and young children, whose heads they cut off, and laid them at their dead mothers' breasts.

Nay, their rage brake out not only upon the living (not one of whom they spared that fell into their hands) but also upon the dead, plucking the bodies of honourable persons and others out of the graves, tearing them to pieces, and exposing them to public scorn.

But the chief eyesore and object of their fury was the city of Lesna, which, after plundering and murdering all whom they found therein, they burned to ashes, and laid in rubbish; only the Lord in his mercy having alarmed the city of their enemies' approaching march, the greatest part of the inhabitants (being three famous churches) saved themselves by flight, and are now wandering up and down in Silesia, the marquisate of Brandenburg, Lusatia, and Hungary, poor, destitute, afflicted, and naked.

His highness and the council having referred unto this committee the testimonials and petitions sent by the said churches, we finding, upon examination thereof, their case to be thus deplorable, which is more at large stated and de-

clared in their own narrative, have caused the said narrative to be translated, and herewith published, thereby to stir up the Lord's people in these nations to put on bowels of mercies towards these their exiled and afflicted brethren, refreshing their hearts by your love, and the tokens of it in a cheerful and liberal supply; which will not only preserve this holy seed from perishing, that hath a blessing in it, but also uphold among them the purity of religion and power of the gospel.

The rather considering the present freedom from these bloody outrages, we, the people of these nations, do by the blessing of the Lord enjoy, the continuance whereof we may the more comfortably hope for, by how much our compassions are more freely extended to those in misery. And if a cup of cold water given to one disciple, as such, shall not lose its reward, how much more when a bountiful relief is given to more than five thousand disciples?

Which we should be the more forward to advance, because they acknowledge they have received much confirmation in the religion for which they suffer, by light received from our countryman John Wickliff, that famous witness of Christ against Antichrist, even in the darkest times of Popery.

And we doubt not but that God who hath lately opened your bowels to so large and eminent a contribution towards the persecuted Protestants of Piedmont (for which many thanksgivings have been made to God in your behalf) will again draw out your hearts upon this like sad occasion, to the like bountiful liberality, it being our duty to cast our bread upon the waters, and to give a portion to six and also to seven, not being weary of well doing, because in due time we shall reap if we faint not. Considering also how honourable it is to act grace, and to lay out ourselves upon such occasions, we recommend it again as the work of God accompanied with his own voice, calling aloud upon us to enlarge ourselves in this ministration, and withal to pour out our hearts in faith and prayer, that the Lord would yet

please to raise up Sion upon the ruins of Babylon, hastening his work, and blessing means to it.

John Trevor
Christopher Pack
William Purefoy
Edward Cresset
Thomas Vyner
Joseph Caryl

John Owen
William Jenkyn
Philip Nye
William Cooper
Edmond Calamy.

The fury of Antichrist against the Protestants or reformed church of the Bohemian Confession in Poland, set down in a brief, but faithful Narrative, and according to the truth of the matter.

The spouse of Jesus Christ, she who in the cradle was besprinkled with the blood of a proto-martyr, hath always brought into the world men like Abel or Stephen, that so there might never be wanting to cry from the earth unto God, and that the wounds of that rose which lies among the thorns of persecution might not be concealed. Every age, and every year in each age, and every month and day in each year, hath produced new inundations of blood unto this day; and yet the little flock of the Lord hath always increased under persecutions, one while here, another there, shifting their seats and habitations. While it pleased God, by the means of Wickliff, to kindle the light of the gospel in Great Britain, John Huss asserted the truth of Jesus Christ in the midst of the thick darkness of Popery in Bohemia, many thousands being stirred up by God to receive it, who, despising all the cruelty of tyrants, received it with joy, until by God's assistance, they took root in the kingdom, and grew up into flourishing churches. In a short time after, Antichrist breathing out his fury, the truth was banished out of Bohemia, and the confessors being driven out, transplanted the gospel into Poland; where, being favourably entertained by King Sigismond, they, in a short

time, increased to so great a number, that being little inferior to the Papists, they were able to boast of an equal authority and privileges with them. Hence it came to pass that the kings at their coronations were wont not only to promise, but solemnly to swear protection to such as disagreed from the Roman religion, and, therefore, they proceeded not to open persecutions, save only in those cities where the jesuits had seated themselves in power, to wit, Cracovia, Posen, Lubin, Vilna, &c., where, by their disciples, and by stirring up the common people to fury, the churches of the reformed professors were a good while ago demolished and divers ministers cruelly massacred. Nevertheless the malice of the enemies being no whit allayed, they were many ways afflicted, first indirectly, afterwards by pretences under colour of law, until those churches being worn out by degress, and overthrown, were not many years ago reduced to a very inconsiderable number, especially when, as in the reign of the late king, the enemies being confident they might do any thing, brought things to this pass at length, that there were no more than twenty-one congregations remaining in the greater Poland, and those also ready to perish. But among these twenty-one remaining churches, the chief, and, as it were, the mother of them all, was that of Lesna, which was divided into three congregations, the Bohemian, the Polonian, and the German; each of which had their own pastors, but the communicants jointly were about two thousand: therefore, it was that this joint church was, in the first place, exposed to the enemy's malice, and of late designed to the slaughter, as well by reason of its being very much frequented and grown famous, as also because of the synod there usually celebrated, as likewise a famous university and printing house, and books frequently published to the world. When, therefore in the year 1655, the Swedish army out of Pomerania drew near to the borders of Poland, and the nobility were summoned to arms, according to the custom of the country, it came to pass that the Papists brake forth into many furious

expressions, crying out, that the heretics had invited the enemy, and, therefore, they were first of all to be put to the sword and extirpated; which reports, though most falsely scattered abroad (for the searcher of hearts and reins knoweth, that we never so much as dreamt of it) yet they easily found credit among the sworn enemies of the gospel, who sought nothing more than our ruin. Hereupon they who first consulted to agree with the Swedish army, being terrified by its power, concluded about the surrender of all Great Poland into the king's protection, and namely, the royal cities of Posen, Celissen, Meseric, &c., to which also Lesna was expressly added. In a little time after, they endeavoured to cast off the Swedish yoke, and turned their arms not against the Swedes, but first against our evangelical professors, as conspiring with the Swedes upon the account of religion, and none of them scrupled to take revenge upon them. They first of all set upon those of Lesna, with the resolution of putting all to the sword, and destroying that heretical city by fire, and they had effected both, unless God had, by sending some persons before, who by signifying the coming of the enemy, and with what intent they came, had possessed the citizens with a panic fear, so that leaving all their estates, they every man fled; and thus within the space of one hour, a most populous city, abounding with all manner of wealth, was left without inhabitants, who, in a miserable condition, wandered then into the neighbouring woods and marshes into Silesia. But the Polish nobility, with their army, entering the city, did what they pleased, slaying a great number of decrepit old people, and sick persons, that were not able to save themselves by flight; then the city itself was first plundered; and afterwards was so destroyed by fire, for three days together, that no part of it remained besides rubbish and ashes. In what manner they would have handled the citizens, especially their pastors, they showed by their heroic actions performed in other places, by the most savage slaughtering of divers ministers of the church, and other faithful members

of Christ of both sexes; for of all that they laid hold on, they gave not one man quarter, but very cruelly put them to death with most exquisite tortures. They endeavoured to force Mr. Samuel Cardus, pastor of the church of Czuertzinien, to renounce his religion, after they had taken him, and miserably handled him with all manner of cruelty; but he stoutly resisting, they first put out his eyes, and led him about for a spectacle, then they pulled off his fingers' ends with pincers; but he not yet condescending to their mad fury, they found out a new kind of torment, poured molten lead into his mouth, and, at length, while he was yet half alive, they clapt his neck between folding doors, and violently pushing them together severed his head from his body. They took John Jacobides, pastor of the church of Dembnick, and Alexander Wartens, his colleague, and another that was in company with them, as they passed through the town of Lubin, and hurrying them up and down for divers hours, and grievously handling them after the manner of tyrants, they last of all, cutting their throats with a razor, threw them headlong, while they were yet breathing, into a great pit, which had been beforehand prepared for their martyrs, and stifled them by casting down dung and dirt upon them. They a great while pursued Andrew Oxlitius, a young man designed for the ministry, whom, after long seeking, they at last found in the open field, and in the end having taken him, they cut off his head with a scythe, chopping it into small pieces, and the dead carcass also they slashed in a barbarous manner. The same fate befell Adam Milota, a citizen of Lesna; but they more grievously handled an old man above seventy, whose name was Simon Priten, and many others, whose names it were too tedious to relate. Of that barbarous execution which they did upon the weaker sex, there were besides other examples, horrid trophies of cruelty erected in the said city of Lesna; a pious matron there, who was the mother of three children, not being able quick enough to leave the city, and being slain in the open street, they cut

off her hands and feet and cutting off her children's heads, they laid two of them at her breasts, and the third by her side. In like manner, another woman having her hands and feet cut off, and her tongue cut out, being inclosed and bound in a sack, lived the space of two days, making most miserable lamentation. Grief forbids us to add more, for they behaved themselves so furiously towards us, that there remains not an example of any one man saved of all those that happened to fall into their hands. It is notoriously known how that fury of theirs tyrannized also over the dead; some they dragged out of their graves and cut in pieces, as at Zichlin; others they exposed naked for a public spectacle, as at Lesna; of which outrageous action we had an example, even in the dead body of the most serene Landgrave of Hessa, which was drawn out of the grave, who was heretofore slain in a most barbarous and tyrannical manner at Koscian, but buried by our friends at Lesna. The like was acted also upon the body of the most noble Arciszewius, heretofore the valiant admiral of the Hollanders in Brazil, which was likewise dragged out of the grave, and being stript of the grave clothes, was found after the firing of Lesna. There are divers other examples, which the Christian reader may find in the book entitled *Lesnæ Excidium*, faithfully written, and lately set forth in print; but they are such examples only as are commonly known, for who is able to relate all things in particular? as burning men alive, drowning others with stones tied about their necks, &c.

Now Lesna being destroyed, the fury of the enemy proceeded to the persecution of others; they, in a short time, utterly demolished all our congregations, not only driving away the pastors, but also either burning or leaving most of the temples desolate, as at Karmin, Dembnick, Skochy, Czriuczyn, &c.; yea and the auditories themselves were either slain (as in the town of Skochy, where there was a very flourishing church of the Bohemian exiles, sixty persons, both men and women, were cruelly put to death)

or else they were scattered abroad, so that there remained not one place wherein the worship of God may be celebrated. Lo, this is the most miserable state and condition of our churches; moreover our countrymen, to the number of five thousand, besides youths and children, being dispersed in banishment (which hath now befallen most of us the second time) especially throughout Silesia, as also through the Marck, Lusatia, Hungary, &c., find no comfort, but much misery, and are there exposed to the hatred and envy of men. We that are pastors dare not openly minister to our auditories with the word and sacraments, but only in private meetings, or in woods among fenny places, God only seeing us, who is witness of these calamities, and our comfort in extremities. Indeed being thus destitute of all things, we lead a wretched life in banishment, being afflicted with hunger and nakedness, and are become, next to the most miserable Waldenses, the greatest spectacle of calamity to the Christian world, for so it hath seemed good to that sovereign wisdom that governs all things, that we should be the inheritors of the cross and persecution of those men from whom we have derived the original of our doctrine and external succession: for truly we are the remaining progeny even of the Waldenses, with whom being raised from the ashes of blessed Huss, and with whom combining into the same holy fellowship of the faith and afflictions of Christ, we have for two whole ages and more, been perpetually subject to the like storms of calamities, until at length we fell into this calamity, greater than ever was known in the memory of our fathers, and which threatens us with utter destruction, unless God prevent it. The truth is, this business constrains us to amazement and tears, greater than can be expressed in words, to set forth our affliction and sorrow. If there be any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the Spirit, if any bowels and mercies, we desire that this affliction of Joseph may be recommended, especially to all that are of the household of faith. Let them not suffer those

to perish whom the same Spirit of Christ hath joined with them in so near a relation; we beseech them in the name of Christ, that they would rather make haste to relieve those who are ready to perish, we being assured that we suffer this persecution upon no other account, than for the confession of the truth, from those enemies who have acted such things as these against us in times past, and are now at length by God's permission, pouring out their fury upon us.

Signed in the name of the said churches, by their delegates, and now exiles for the cause of Christ:

ADAM SAMUEL HARTMAN, *Pastor of the church of Lesna, in Poland, and Rector of the famous University there.*

PAUL CYRIL, *a late member of the University of Lysna.*

Of the amount contributed in consequence of this second appeal to the benevolence of our countrymen, I am unable to give the reader any specific information. The posture of public affairs, in our own country, now became extremely critical; and the same year (1658) in which these laudable efforts were made in behalf of the Waldenses, both of Poland and Piedmont, proved fatal to the life, and, of course, to the influence of the Protector. The parliament proved refractory, and, in the spring of the year, he dissolved them. Public discontents ran high, and a pamphlet made its appearance intitled "Killing no murder"—the object of which was to prove that his assassination would be the discharge of a public duty. His fears are said to have been excited; a slow fever ensued, and on the 3d of September he died. Of the contributions made in 1655, thirty thousand pounds had been distributed among the sufferers in the valleys of Piedmont, but the confusion which succeeded on the death of the Protector occasioned the balance, which was nearly ten thousand pounds, to be withheld for a time, but it was afterwards remitted them.

SECTION VIII.*The History of the Waldenses concluded.*

THE writer of the Apocalypse informs us that, while in the isle of Patmos, he had a vision of a beast rising up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns—and that there was given unto him a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies—and it was also given unto him to make war with the saints, and to overcome them: and power was given him over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations; that all that dwell upon the earth should worship him, except those whose names were written in the slain Lamb's book of life, from the foundation of the world. Rev. xiii. That this prophetic description was designed to point out the monstrous antichristian proceedings of Papal Rome, is now scarcely doubted by any, except the members of that apostate church: and with how much propriety such an application of it is made, may be very safely left to the determination of those who shall have impartially perused the foregoing narrative. If we calmly review the conduct of the court of Rome towards the Waldenses, and mark the savage ferocity with which they had now, for several successive centuries, invariably pursued them; how, when exiled from one country, they were followed into another, and that nothing short of their total extirpation could satisfy the relentless cruelty of their adversaries, we can scarcely forbear applying to them the affecting language of the Psalmist, "For thy sake are we killed all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter." Psal. xliv. 23. We have seen that, whether in France, or Spain, or in our own country; in Bohemia, Calabria, or Poland; throughout Germany or the Netherlands; in Italy or the valleys of Piedmont; one common fate awaited them, and *that* they never failed, sooner or later, to experience, namely, "to be slain for the word of God and for the

testimony which they held." Rev. vi. 9. But the crisis of their affairs was now arrived;—the witnesses who had so long, and so nobly prophesied in sackcloth, before many peoples, and nations, and tongues, and kings, were about to finish their testimony; which having done, it remained for the "beast that ascended out of the bottomless pit to make war against them, and overcome them, and kill them." Rev. xi. 3—7. A glance at the manner in which this was effected will occupy the present section, and discharge my engagements to the public; so far at least as regards this undertaking.

The number of the Waldenses that fell in the massacre of Piedmont, in 1655, is estimated by cotemporary writers at more than six thousand.* In consequence, however, of the humane interference of our own and other Protestant states, the residue, as hath been already stated, availed themselves of the treaty that was signed by the Duke of Savoy, on the 9th of August, 1655, to return to their dwellings. But their enemies were by no means satisfied with the measure of calamity which they had dealt out towards them. In the year 1663, they again came forward with fire and sword, and the atrocities of 1655 were once more in preparation to be repeated. Having found by experience that to stand in an attitude of self-defence was the only way left them of saving themselves, the Waldenses were now constrained to take up arms, which they did, and defended themselves so bravely, that about the end of that year they at least kept their enemies at bay! But the Swiss cantons, ever alive to their affairs, on this occasion again sent ambassadors to the court of Turin, to mediate between the parties, and in February, 1664, a patent was granted by the Duke of Savoy, in all respects confirming that given in 1655; but though his royal highness now personally engaged to see the treaty carried into effect, it was no better executed than the

* History of the Persecution of the Valleys of Piedmont, p. 4.

former. The Waldenses, however, persevered, and though subject to innumerable contumelies and very injurious treatment, which the rancour of the council *for propagating the faith* was continually inflicting upon them, they bore up until the year 1672 when an event transpired that afforded them an opportunity, in a very signal manner, of evincing their loyalty, and of rendering essential services to their sovereign and their country.

In the year last mentioned, a war broke out between the Duke of Savoy and the Genoese. The army of the former was commanded by the Marquis of Pionessa, son of the nobleman of that name who nearly thirty years before had taken so active a part in the massacre of the Waldenses. Under his management the war with Genoa proved most unpropitious, insomuch that the affairs of the Duke of Savoy were brought to the brink of ruin: and, as Bishop Burnet assures us,* the duke was so displeased with his conduct that he never would forgive him, but a little before his death actually enjoined it upon his mother never to employ him again! It was at this critical juncture of their national affairs that the Waldenses, forgetting all that was past, voluntarily came forward to enrol themselves in their sovereign's cause, and entered into the war with such zeal and courage, that they soon retrieved the fallen fortunes of their country, and brought the war to a speedy and successful termination. Their loyal and disinterested behaviour on this occasion, sensibly affected the mind of their prince, who testified his approbation of their conduct in a letter, of which the following is a copy:

* Burnet's Letters from Italy—Supplement to ditto, Lett. III. p. 158. Edit. 1688.

To our most faithful subjects, the communities of the valleys of Lucerne, Perouse, San Martin, and of the districts of Perrustin, Saint Bartholomew, and Rocheplatte.

THE DUKE OF SAVOY, PRINCE OF PIEDMONT, &c. &c.

MOST DEAR AND FAITHFUL,

Forasmuch as we have been well pleased with the zeal and readiness with which you have provided men who have served us to our entire satisfaction, in the affair we had against the Genoese; we have thought fit to testify unto you by these presents our approbation thereof, and to assure you, that we shall keep it in particular remembrance to make you sensible on all occasions, of the effects of our royal protection, whereof the Count Beccaria shall give you more ample information, whom we have commanded to express to you our sentiments more at large, and also to take a list of the officers and soldiers, as well of those that are dead as of those that remain prisoners, that he may report the same unto us, to the end that we may pay due regard thereunto. In the mean-time these Presents shall serve you for an assured testimony of our satisfaction and good will; and we pray God to preserve you from evil.

Signed C. EMANUEL, Buonfiglio.

Turin, November 5, 1672.

The following is a copy of the Duke's letter to Count Beccaria.

TRUSTY AND WELL-BELOVED,

THE men whom the communities of Lucerne, &c., have provided, have served us so faithfully, that, being desirous of testifying unto them our satisfaction therewith, we have sent you a letter herein inclosed, which we have written to them, to the end that you may deliver it to them, and also express more fully the good will that we bear to them on

that account; and that you may assure them, that whensoever any thing shall happen that may tend to their advantage we will particularly remember their affection. And on this occasion you shall take a list of the officers and soldiers, as well of those that are dead as of those that are prisoners, and make a report of the same unto us, that we may pay a suitable regard to such; and referring to you for what may be said further in token of the satisfaction we have received, no less by their zeal and readiness, than by the good services which their officers and soldiers have rendered us; we pray our Lord to preserve you.

Signed

C. EMANUEL.

Turin, November 5, 1672.

To Monsieur Count Beccaria, Counsellor of State.

In scrupulous conformity with the tenor of these letters the duke continued to the time of his death, which happened in 1675, to favour the Waldenses with tokens of his kindness; and, even after his decease, the dutchess, his widow, followed his example, treating them with great gentleness and goodness; and, in the year 1679, she pledged herself, in a letter to the Swiss Cantons, dated 28th January, to maintain the Waldenses in the undisturbed exercise of their religious privileges.

VICTOR AMADEUS II. was a minor at the time of his father's death, though he inherited the title of Duke of Savoy. The government of Piedmont was, consequently, during this interval of ten years, vested in the hands of his mother, the widow of the late Charles Emanuel II., who acted as regent until the year 1685, when Victor Amadeus arrived at maturity; and it appears to have been a season of tranquillity to the churches throughout the valleys. It is a remarkable circumstance that both father and son were poisoned! The former, indeed, fell a sacrifice to this base and treacherous act, but the youth of the son carried

him through it.* It was the misfortune of this young prince, however, to become connected by marriage, with Louis XIV. king of France, one of the most detestable and sanguinary tyrants that ever sat upon a throne ; and who, as we shall presently see, compelled him, in defiance of his own inclination and judgment, to extirpate the Waldenses from his dominions. "There is nothing more visible," says Bishop Burnet, writing at the very time, "than that the Dukes of Savoy have sunk extremely in this age, from the figure which they made in the last ; and how much soever they have raised their titular dignity in having the title *Royal Highness* given them, they have lost as much in the figure which they made in the affairs of Europe.—The truth is, the vanity of this title and the expensive humour which their late *marriages with France* has spread among them, have ruined them ; for instead of keeping good troops and strong places, all the revenue goes to keeping up the magnificence of the court, which is certainly very splendid."† Of the justice and pertinency of these observations the reader will find abundant proof in the sequel.

During the reign of Louis XIII. the Protestants had multiplied in France to such an extent, that, at the period of his death, A. D. 1643, they were computed to exceed two millions. Their religious privileges had been guaranteed to them by the well known edict of Nantz. Louis XIV. was only five years of age when his father died, and, of course, the queen mother was appointed sole regent during his minority. When the young king came of age, in 1652, the edict of Nantz was again confirmed. But his prime minister, Cardinal Mazarine, with his confessors and clergy, were continually impressing his mind with the expediency of revoking that edict ; and when the management of affairs devolved upon his own hands, in 1661, he

* Bishop Burnet's Supplementary Letters from Italy, p. 161.

† Ibid. p. 162.

resolved to effect the destruction of the Protestants. In prosecution of this design he began by excluding the Calvinists from his household, and from all places of profit and trust. He next caused several laws to be passed in favour of the Catholic religion. Then rigorous methods were adopted to compel the Calvinists to change their religion—their places of worship were shut up—and at length, October 22, 1685, he revoked the edict of Nantz, and banished them from the kingdom. The cruelties that were inflicted upon them at this time, if possible, surpass in atrocity any thing that is to be found in the persecutions of the first Christians by the Heathen. “They cast some,” says Monsieur Claude, “into large fires, and took them out when they were half roasted. They hanged others with ropes under their arms, and plunged them several times into wells, till they promised to renounce their religion. They tied them like criminals on the rack, and by means of a funnel, poured wine into their mouths, till, being intoxicated, they declared, that they consented to turn Catholics. Some they cut and slashed with penknives, others they took up by the nose with red hot tongs, and led them up and down the rooms till they promised to turn Catholics.” These cruel proceedings caused eight hundred thousand persons to quit the kingdom.

The tranquillity of the Waldenses in Piedmont was now first invaded by a proclamation issued by the governor of the valleys, about the end of the year 1685, ordering that no stranger should come and continue in the valleys above three days, without his permission, on pain of being severely punished. This seemed mysterious, but it was soon unravelled by the intelligence which presently arrived of the dreadful proceedings against the French Protestants; for they immediately saw that it was intended to prevent them from giving an asylum to any of the unhappy exiles; yet they little apprehended the dreadful tempest that was gathering around themselves.

On the 31st of January 1686, they were amazed at the publication of an order from the Duke of Savoy, forbidding his subjects the exercise of the Protestant religion upon pain of death; the confiscation of their goods; the demolition of their churches; and the banishment of their pastors. All infants born from that time, were to be baptized and brought up in the Roman Catholic religion, under the penalty of their fathers being condemned to the galleys!* Their consternation was now extreme. Hitherto the treaty which secured to them the free exercise of their religion had been guaranteed by the kings of France; but they were now given to understand that the Duke of Savoy, in all these intolerant measures, was only fulfilling the wishes of that monarch; and, to crown the whole, the latter had marched an army to the confines of Piedmont, to see the order of the duke properly executed. In this truly affecting condition, their first step was, by submission, and entreaty, to soften the heart of their sovereign. Four different applications were addressed to him, beseeching him to revoke this cruel order: the only advantage they reaped was a suspension of the impending calamity until their enemies were better prepared to execute it with effect.

Their old and tried friends the Swiss cantons, being informed of this state of things, convened a Diet at Baden, in the month of February, 1686, at which it was resolved to send ambassadors to the Duke of Savoy to intercede for the Waldenses; and early in the following month they arrived at Turin, where they delivered in their propositions relating to the revocation of the order of the 31st of January. They showed his highness that they were interested in the affair, not only as the brethren of the Waldenses, but also in virtue of the treaties of 1655 and 1664, which were the fruits of their mediation, and which this new order annulled. The court of Turin admitted the plea; but con-

* See Appendix, No. 1.

tented themselves with telling the ambassadors, that the engagements which the duke had recently entered into with the King of France opposed the success of their negotiation. The Swiss ambassadors gave in a memorial, and urged a variety of pleas; in all which they were supported by letters from many Protestant princes in behalf of the Waldenses. They pleaded that the predecessors of his royal highness had pledged themselves to many of the potentates of Europe, and particularly to the cantons of Switzerland, to observe the privileges which had been granted to the Protestant inhabitants of the valleys: and argued that such formal and authenticated engagements ought to stand good; for that the immunities which had been secured to them by letters patent, were not to be regarded merely in the light of matters of momentary toleration, but as perpetual grants and irrevocable laws: that having been granted at the intercession of many sovereign princes, they must, according to the laws of nations, be regarded as monuments of the public faith: and that the promises of princes ought to be maintained sacred and inviolable. They also endeavoured to show, by arguments deduced from maxims of state policy, that the Duke of Savoy acted against his own interest in these cruel proceedings; and that even from a regard to those, he should continue the Waldenses in their ancient privileges—that the laws of justice and motives of clemency should prevent him from subjecting his country to fire and sword and desolation; for that he was about to ruin a harmless and innocent people, who had done nothing that could deservedly entitle them to the effects of this inhuman order. But neither the reasoning of the ambassadors, nor their own pressing solicitations, nor the letters of intercession which had been presented in their behalf from many other Protestant princes, could avail any thing with the court of Turin.* The Marquis of Saint Thomas, to whom they

* See Appendix, No. 2.

delivered their memorial, and who was one of the duke's ministers of state for foreign affairs, returned an answer in a few days, stating that his royal highness was sorry that he was not in a capacity to grant what they desired in their own and in the name of their masters—that he had far stronger reasons for enforcing this edict, than they had given him to revoke it; and that he could not so much as mitigate it; *that the great wheels moved and carried the little ones along with them*—that having for his neighbour a prince equally powerful and jealous of his honour, he was obliged to carry himself with great circumspection, and to act according to the exigencies of the times, just as in Switzerland they were sometimes compelled by the turn of their affairs, to take certain resolutions contrary to the good intentions they might otherwise have. In short, the duke was too far engaged—the troops which he had raised, at a great expense, were already in motion—that the edict could not be revoked without wounding his royal highness's reputation—that he was forced to see it executed for very cogent reasons, on which the ambassadors might make their own reflections. He added that the grants of 1655 and 1664, were a mere toleration, and that the Waldenses had no positive right to exercise their religious profession—that sovereigns do no injustice in refusing to allow more than one religion in a country, and that the Swiss cantons themselves justified the conduct of his royal highness, by not enduring Roman Catholics among them. Besides, the concessions granted to the Waldenses had been legally examined, and it was agreed, that the concessions and favours which a prince grants to his subjects, he is at liberty to revoke at pleasure—that his royal highness prohibited nothing to the Waldenses but the exercise of their religious profession, but that he *in no respects intended to force their consciences!*

The ambassadors in reply, told the Marquis of St. Thomas, that however strong his royal highness's reasons were to consent to his edict of January last, they could not

annul those that necessarily engaged him to observe the promises given before this edict. That some considerations of state ought not to dispense a prince from performing his word, especially if he entered into this engagement by the mediation of another sovereign; and that whereas the patents and concessions granted to the inhabitants of the valleys had been acquired by the intercession of several kings, princes, and states, and, in particular, of their excellencies the Protestant cantons, and confirmed by his royal highness, he could allege nothing sufficient to discharge him from the obligation of seeing them punctually observed; and the rather, because these patents have been enrolled by the parliament of Savoy; and that the enrolling of the year 1620 alone, had cost the churches of the valleys six thousand crowns.

They urged that the concessions granted by the predecessors of his royal highness to the inhabitants of the valleys, did acquire them an incontestable right, which they could not lose but by an enormous crime, and by a rebellion against their lawful sovereign; and that, far from being guilty of any want of their duty, they could produce a letter of his royal highness's, of the 2d of September, 1684, which is an authentic and glorious proof of their fidelity, and inviolable adherence which they had always shown to their prince's interest. That if, after the publication of the last edict, some particular persons amongst them had taken up arms, they had not done it to make use of them against their sovereign, but only to defend themselves against those that, abusing his authority, had undertaken to attack and insult them; and that in case there had been some disorders committed, those that were the authors ought to be punished; but that it ought not to be imputed to the whole body of the churches of the valleys, that were in no respects guilty of it.

They insisted that the prince was equally obliged to execute the promises he had made to his subjects, as those

that regarded persons that are in no manner under his submission. That such obligations were grounded upon public faith and honour, which ought to rule in all treaties of sovereigns, without distinction; that if it were allowable to fail in what they had solemnly promised to their people, it would be impossible to terminate differences that should arise between them, or to appease the troubles that might happen in their state; and that two parties making war on one another, would never end their quarrels, but by the total ruin of one of them.

They added to this, that sovereigns had reason to employ their utmost endeavours to unite their subjects in the same religion; but that to effect it, they ought not to violate treaties which had been formerly made with them. That all that was allowed them in such a case, was, to employ instruction and exhortation, and all the winning ways of sweetness, that are calculated to make truth enter into the minds of their people, to enlighten their understandings, and to move them to embrace, with good will, the true religion: but that which deserved a particular consideration in this contest is, that the inhabitants of the valleys did not hold by the concessions of their princes the liberty to exercise in public their religion; because it was established in this country above eight centuries ago; and that they enjoyed this right long before they were the subjects of his royal highness's ancestors; insomuch that having never been of the same religion as their prince, it could not be said that they had abandoned it, nor he oblige them to return to it.

These reasons, and many others which were adduced, were so strong, that the ambassadors hoped they would have some effect on his royal highness's mind; and that the Marquis of St. Thomas would be pleased to make them known to him, and employ the credit which he had with him, to obtain the revoking of an edict which, without doubt, he had thought to be just, and which he would not

have published, if he had been persuaded that it was contrary to what a just and equitable sovereign owes to his faithful subjects.

But they did not merely content themselves in representing the right of the Piedmontese churches, and supporting it by solid reasons; for they employed several days in soliciting all the ministers of his royal highness, and all persons they judged capable of contributing to the success of their embassy: above all they stuck close to the Marquis of St. Thomas, as one upon whom depended all the good and all the evil they could expect in this affair; and if we may judge of things by appearance, the pains they took to dispose him to be favourable to them, were not altogether unsuccessful. For he protested upon oath, that he had laid before his royal highness the contents of the reply which he had been charged to present to him; that he had done all he could to make him sensible of the reasons they made use of to obtain the revoking of the edict; but that the juncture of affairs was the cause that he could not persuade his royal highness to grant them their requests. "Nevertheless," added he, "whereas the prince's troops are not yet upon the march, the inhabitants of the valleys may make a show as if they were willing to execute the edict, because that such a conduct is not contrary to the maxims of your religion, and by these means they will disarm the prince, and they may find afterwards some means to prevent the evils they are threatened with."

"Our doctrine," answered the ambassadors, "does in no respect countenance the dissembling of our faith, or oblige us to profess before men the truth whereof our hearts are not persuaded. But this is not our business at present; the question is to know whether his royal highness could lawfully revoke the concessions granted to the churches of the valleys. For as they are engagements into which he has entered by the mediation of several sovereigns, and amongst others, by that of the Swiss cantons, our sovereign

lords, it is evident that nothing can warrant him in breaking them."

In answer to all these pleas, the ministers of the prince gave the ambassadors to understand, that the council of state having examined them, judged they were not strong enough to hinder the prince from publishing his edict against his subjects of the valleys; and that supposing the edict should really cause some inconvenience to his royal highness, he would nevertheless not desist from it, for fear a change of this nature should be injurious to his authority; and that *endeavouring to preserve some of his subjects, he might run the hazard to lose them all.* And though the ministers wished to be thought firm in their sentiments, and to show they were not convinced of the justice of the demands the ambassadors made, it was well known that they defended the edict against their own opinion; for one of them frankly confessed, that his royal highness's counsellors had not properly examined the concessions of the years 1655 and 1664, and that if they had made the necessary reflections on them, they would never have advised the prince to revoke them; but he assured them that *the evil was now without remedy, and that all the solicitations of the ambassadors, to oblige the prince to change his will, would be in vain; indeed, one of the ministers frankly confessed, that the prince was not master of this affair, and that they executed at Turin those orders that were given at Versailles.*

This honest confession convinced the ambassadors that all their solicitations would produce no effect; therefore, seeing it would be impossible for them to obtain the revocation of the edict, they thought fit, according to the chief head of their instructions, to demand that which related to the second article of the orders which they had received from their sovereigns, viz. to procure the inhabitants of the valleys the means of retreating somewhere else, and of disposing of their goods as they should think fit.

But as their instruction was, to make no proposals to the court of Turin, on this point, except with the consent of the inhabitants of the valleys, they told the Marquis of St. Thomas that having, for several reasons, entertained no correspondence with them, they were willing to take a journey into the valleys, to inform themselves exactly of the disposition of the people, and when acquainted with their intentions, to make some overtures of a new negotiation. But they gave him to understand, at the same time, they would by no means undertake the journey, except with his royal highness's full consent.

The Marquis of St. Thomas, having acquainted his royal highness with the design of the ambassadors, sent them word that he approved of their intentions, and that he would give orders to the governor of Lucerne to do them all the honour, and to show them all the respect, that was due to their character.

When the ambassadors arrived in the valleys, they acquainted all the communities with their arrival, who dispatched immediately two deputies and two ministers to them, to whom they represented, that they had employed their utmost endeavours to cause the edict of the 31st day of January to be revoked, but that all their pleading had been unsuccessful: that it had been given them to understand, that his royal highness was so much engaged with one of the most powerful monarchs in the world, that it was impossible for him to break it: and that he was resolved to use all his endeavours to unite his subjects in the same religion, as he had promised to do.

There were, therefore, no hopes left of obtaining the revocation of the orders that had been given against them. That their sovereign lords had commanded them, in case his royal highness should persist in his resolution to execute his edict, that they should demand his permission to give them leave to retreat out of his territories, and to dispose of their goods; but that they were unwilling to enter into any negotiation upon this article, without being first

informed of their intentions about it. That, therefore, they should assemble to deliberate seriously about so important an affair, and acquaint them afterwards what they desired of them in the present juncture.

The deputies and ministers having conferred together about this proposition, before they resolved upon any thing, they entreated the ambassadors to assist them with their best advice and prudent counsel. But the ambassadors declined to advise them in so intricate a business, telling them they were better acquainted with their own forces; with the situation of the places where they intended to intrench themselves; with their ammunition and provisions, than they were; and that therefore, they themselves could adopt the best measures about it.

The ministers and deputies finding that they could not agree amongst themselves, and that, besides, it was a business which could not be decided but by their commonalties; told the ambassadors, that the case in question being of the greatest importance, they could take no resolutions about it without having first assembled all their commonalties to consult upon it, and they promised to bring them to Turin their last resolutions, provided they could get passports for them.

The ambassadors returned to Turin, and informed the Marquis of St. Thomas of the success of their journey, who assured them that this negotiation was very agreeable to the court. They then demanded a safeconduct, that some of the inhabitants of the valleys might have liberty to come and bring the deliberations that should be taken in this assembly: but it was refused under two pretences; one was, that the Duke of Savoy would not permit that any Waldenses should appear at his court; the other was, that he designed to do nothing in this affair but only for the sake of the ambassadors. They were forced, therefore, to send the secretary of the embassy into the valleys to fetch these deliberations. This secretary found the communities assembled at Angrogne, the 28th of March, very

much unresolved what course to take ; for, on one side, they saw the lamentable consequences of war ; on the other side, the dangers and almost insurmountable difficulties in the execution of their retreat. Besides, although they might depart without danger, they could not contemplate, but with extreme regret, the hardship of being forced to abandon their goods and native country to go into a foreign land to lead a miserable, disconsolate, and wandering sort of life. At last they resolved to send a memorial to the ambassadors, stating the dangers and difficulties that obstructed their departure, and wrote a letter to them signed by nine ministers and eight laymen, in which, after having entreated them to reflect on these obstacles, they declared, that they would refer the whole to their prudence and conduct. Upon receiving this letter the ambassadors made it their business to obtain permission for the Waldenses to retire out of the estates of Piedmont, and to make sales of their goods ; but the Duke of Savoy, to whom this proposition was referred, answered, that before he would return any reply thereto, he expected that the communities of the valleys should send deputies to him with full power to make those submissions that were due to him, and to *beg leave* to depart out of his territories, as a peculiar favour that they should implore of their prince. The ambassadors had reason to be surprised at this preamble. They had denied them the safeconduct that they had demanded for the coming of the deputies of the valleys to Turin. They had assured them several times, that if they should grant to the Waldenses leave to retreat, it was only upon the account and at the intercession of the ambassadors : nevertheless, they would by no means have it said, that the ambassadors desired permission for them to depart, on their own behalf ; but, on the contrary, that it was the Waldenses themselves that made this request. This alteration was not without cause, and it was not for nothing that they now adopted measures altogether different from the former. The council of the propagation who managed

this affair, had without doubt respect to these two several points ; one was, that they would not have the ambassadors named in the permission of departure, to the end that they should have the less right to demand the execution of those things that should be promised to the Waldenses ; the other, that the Waldenses themselves desiring this permission as a favour, they might be at liberty to impose on them what conditions they pleased ; and lastly, that the Waldenses making those submissions that the duke required of them, must needs be in the state of supplicants, and would, by consequence, be forced to lay down their arms ; otherwise they could not be in the condition of petitioners. But however it were, the ambassadors, willing to take away every pretext from the enemies of the Waldenses, took a safeconduct to bring up the deputies whom they had demanded : they sent this safeconduct into the valleys by the secretary of the embassy, who caused the communities to be assembled to nominate their deputies. But as, on the one hand, there were many who never engaged in the design of departing ; and that, on the other, the new marches of their enemies appeared suspicious, the communities were not all of one mind, nor the orders they gave to their respective deputies conformable one with another. For the tenor of some was to beg leave to depart and to sell their goods ; while others required the maintenance of the exercise of their religion and their other rights. These deputies being arrived at Turin, the ambassadors thought it not convenient for them to appear at court thus divided ; but sent them back into the valleys to endeavour a union between themselves, and laboured in the mean-time to obtain a truce for them.*

Their enemies heard, with great satisfaction, that the communities were divided among themselves upon the point of departing ; they were so well persuaded that this division would be an infallible means to destroy them, that they

* See Appendix, No. VII.

caused it to be carried on and fomented, by perfidious persons whom they had gained for that purpose. It is also to be presumed, that they never had proposed the expedient of departing, but with a prospect that it might be the occasion of the disunion of the Waldenses. To take advantage, therefore, of the various dispositions of the communities, their enemies changed their minds once more. They had lately declared, that they expected, in the first place, that the Waldenses should themselves desire permission to depart, and should make their submissions thereon. The Waldenses had not made this request nor these submissions: several of the communities were not of the opinion to retire: the ambassadors did not solicit any longer a permission to depart, but a truce, as appears by a letter which they wrote to the Marquis of St. Thomas, the 8th of April, 1686. In the mean-time, notwithstanding all this, to accomplish absolutely the division of the Waldenses, and consequently to ruin them with the greater ease, they published, unknown to the ambassadors, an edict, dated the 9th of the same month of April, granting to the Waldenses an amnesty, and permission to retire out of the state of Piedmont.*

This edict was published in the valleys the 11th of April, the same day on which the ambassadors wrote a letter to the same effect to some of the communities to know their resolution. In the mean-time they gave in a very pressing memorial to the Marquis of St. Thomas, to obtain some assurance that the troops should not enter into the valleys, and to gain for the Waldenses certain conditions more favourable than those of the edict:† but the court of Turin assured them that there was nothing to be expected for the Waldenses, till they had laid down their arms, of which the ambassadors gave advice to the deputies of the valleys who had been at Turin, by a letter dated the 13th, which they wrote to them on that subject.‡ On the 14th the communities

* See Appendix, No. IX. † Appendix, No. XII. ‡ Appendix, No. XIII.

held a general assembly at Rocheplatte, when, having examined the terms and conditions of the edict, they were of opinion, that their enemies thought of nothing less than in reality to permit the departure which they pretended to grant to them, and that this edict was nothing but a snare that they had laid to entangle them, and to destroy them with more ease: they resolved therefore not to accept of it, but to follow the example of their ancestors, and to refer the event of it to providence. In fact, this edict which was designed altogether to divide them, wrought a quite contrary effect, and served much to unite them in the same judgment.

The principal reasons that hindered them from accepting this edict, were, first, that as it ordains the entire execution of the order of the 31st of January, which condemned all the churches to be demolished, they must of necessity demolish all their churches within eight days, because the edict declares expressly, that if every thing contained in it be not executed within the space of eight days, they are deprived of and forfeit those favours that are stipulated in it. It must follow then, that for the execution of the edict, either that the Waldenses themselves should demolish their churches, or that their enemies should do it. The Waldenses could not resolve to demolish them themselves, and therefore they would have sent for troops that under the pretext of this demolishing, would have infallibly oppressed the Waldenses. Secondly, if they designed to permit them to retire without disturbance, why did they not defer the execution of the order of the 31st of January, till after their departure? Why should they oblige them to demolish their churches within the eight days that were given them to prepare themselves to abandon for ever their native country, were it not to render their retreat impossible? Thirdly, this edict further requires, that they should lay down their arms, and that they should open their country to monks, missionaries, and Catholics. Now it is plain, that if they had thrown away their arms, and opened their coun-

try before their departure, they would have been exposed to the mercy of their enemies, and to the fury of troops who would not have failed to enter into their country, to oppose the retreat of the Waldenses, and to torment them till such time as they had changed their religion, as had been practised elsewhere : but their fear was so much the more justifiable on this occasion, in regard that they gave them no assurance that their troops should not enter into the valleys. Fourthly, the Waldenses were also obliged to retire in three separate brigades, and to rendezvous in those places, where the troops being encamped, they must consequently surrender themselves to the discretion of the soldiers, and deliver themselves up to be butchered. Fifthly, the permission that the same edict gives to the Waldenses to sell their goods, was altogether useless to them. For besides that the sale could not be made to Catholics, till after their departure, and by the management of commissioners, they were bound, out of the price of the said goods, to indemnify the monks, the missionaries, the ancient, the modern, and the future Catholics, for whatever damages they should pretend to, which they would have enhanced above the value of their goods. Sixthly, the edict also ordered, that besides those that should go out of the valleys of their own accord, the prince should reserve to himself a power to banish whom he should think fit for securing the repose of those that remain, which supposes not only that the conditions of the edict were so disadvantageous, that there would be many Waldenses, who would not accept them, nor depart out of their station ; but also that their departure ought not to be looked upon as a favour, but as a punishment that they intended to inflict on several Waldenses, since they reserved to themselves a power to banish those who should have a mind to stay. Seventhly, the ambassadors were not named in the edict, and the Waldenses had no security for the execution of those things that were therein contained. They had good reason then very much to mistrust these proceedings, since the sad experience that they had on several occasions

how ill their enemies kept their word, especially in this juncture, when they had broken the most inviolable laws, were but too just a ground for their suspicions. Lastly, since the Duke of Savoy had declared that he was not the master of this affair, because of the engagements that he had taken with the King of France, it was not to be presumed that the latter monarch, on whom this matter depended, would take any milder measures, in respect of the Waldenses, than those he had taken with regard to his own subjects. The Waldenses had also several other reasons grounded on the impossibility of their departure in so short a time, and upon other obstacles.

The communities sent their resolution to the ambassadors, who used all the exertions imaginable, to procure for the Waldenses conditions more certain and more advantageous than those that are contained in the edict; but neither their reasons nor their solicitations produced any effect. They were always told, that as long as the Waldenses were in arms, they could not agree to any thing, nor so much as promise any thing positively. On the other hand, the Waldenses being persuaded that they would not disarm them but to destroy them without trouble and without resistance, could by no means yield to it, and persisted in their resolution to defend themselves, if they came to attack them.

A circumstance transpired at this time that served much to confirm them in this resolution. Two or three days after the publication of the edict, several inhabitants of the valleys went to the superintendent, to declare to him, that they and their families intended to quit Piedmont conformably to the edict, and to desire of him safeconducts, which he refused them, under the pretence that they ought to stay till they went out with the rest. Moreover, because there were several that resisted his solicitations to change their religion, he caused them to be put in prison, where some of them languished and at last died, and others remained there above nine months, viz. till the time when all the other prisoners were discharged. There needed no other proof to make it

appear that their design was to destroy the Waldenses, who would not change their religion. However, the communities of the valleys having received a letter from the ambassadors, called another assembly at Rocheplatte, the 19th of April: they persisted in their resolution not to comply with the edict, but to defend themselves. It was then ordered in that assembly, that all the ministers should preach, and administer the sacrament the following Sunday. The valley of St. Martin entered into this deliberation with the rest, but put it not into execution. Some of that valley changed their minds without acquainting the other valleys of it. And the elders of the church of Villeseche wrote to the ambassadors who were yet at Turin upon the point of their departing, a letter dated the 20th of April, wherein they declared to them, that they would execute the edict, and entreated them, for that reason, to procure for them a safe-conduct, and time to provide for their retreat. One of the ambassadors took the pains to go to the camp to demand a safeconduct; but they denied it, under pretence that they had not desired it in time. It was always too soon or too late, and the time was never convenient to grant safeconducts. In the mean-time the Duke of Savoy arrived at his camp some days after the publication of the edict, hoping probably he might strike terror into the Waldenses by his presence, and force them to accept of the conditions that he had imposed on them. He had made a review of his troops, and of those of France, that were encamped on the plain at the foot of the Alps; his own army was composed of his family, all the cavalry and infantry, and the militia of Mondovi, of Barjes, of Bagnols, with a great number of foreigners. And the army of France consisted of several regiments of horse and dragoons, of seven or eight battalions of foot that had passed the mountains, and a part of the garrisons of Pignerol and Casal. The Duke had also made the necessary preparations for attacking the Waldenses, as soon as the truce that was granted them should expire, having appointed his own army to storm the valley of Lucerne

and the community of Angrogne ; and the army of France to attack the valleys of St. Martin and Perouse. The Waldenses, on the other hand, had taken some pains to defend themselves. They possessed only a part of the valley of Lucerne ; for the tower that gave name to this valley, and many other considerable places, were in the enemies' hand. The community of Angrogne, from which some call the valley by the same name, by reason of its large extent was not wholly occupied by the Waldenses. In the valley of Perouse they took up only certain posts in the places that depend on the state of Piedmont ; for this valley is divided by the river Cluson between the King of France and the Duke of Savoy ; but they were in possession of all the valley of St. Martin, being the strongest of all by its situation. They had fortified themselves in every one of those valleys with several intrenchments of earth and dry stones. They were about two thousand five hundred men bearing arms ; they appointed captains and officers of the chiefest among themselves, for they had no foreigners, and they waited the approach of the enemy with great resolution. But as on the one hand they had neither regular troops, nor captains, nor experienced officers ; and that, on the other, there were several Waldenses who had been corrupted, or that had relented during the negotiation, it is not to be wondered at if they took not all the necessary precautions that were in their power. One of the greatest faults they committed was, their striving to maintain all their posts ; for if they had abandoned the most advanced, and had retired within the intrenchments they had made in the mountains, it is not likely they would have been beaten out of them.

On the 22d of April, being the day appointed for the attack, the French army commanded by Catinat, governor of Casal, marched two hours before day, by torch-light, against the valleys of Perouse and St. Martin, having for sometime followed the river Cluson on the king's territories. Catinat sent out a detachment of infantry, commanded by Vellevieille, lieutenant colonel in Limosin, who having passed

the river over a bridge, entered into the valley of Perouse on the side of Piedmont. He seized on St. Germain, a village that the Waldenses had abandoned, and proceeded to attack an intrenchment that they had made hard by, in which there were two hundred men. The Waldenses quitted this post after some resistance, and took possession of another more advantageous. In the mean-time a new detachment of horse and of yellow dragoons having again passed the river, came to relieve the foot who had begun the engagement. They used their utmost efforts to gain the entrenchments of the Waldenses, of which they thought easily to become masters, since they were six to one; but they found so stout a resistance, that after having lost many of their soldiers, they were forced to entrench themselves at a pistol shot distance; continual firings were kept up on both sides for more than ten hours together; but at length the Waldenses went out from their entrenchments with their swords in their hands, surprised the French, who little expected so bold an action, and drove them even into the plain on the other side of the Cluson, where opportunely they found a bridge that kept them from being drowned. There were, on this occasion, more than five hundred Frenchmen killed and wounded, and among the rest several officers of note, though the Waldenses had but two men killed and some few wounded.

While things passed thus in Perouse, the body of the king's army repassed the Cluson to the fort of Perouse on the side of France, where Catinat formed a detachment of horse commanded by Melac, who having passed the river by two bridges, fetched a compass about to gain the high grounds that separate the valley of St. Martin from Dauphiny. The rest of the army having likewise passed the river, went to encamp with Catinat at Bolards part of the night, and the next day attacked the valley of St. Martin at a village called Rioclaret. But as those who had the command in that valley, did not think that they would molest them, after they had shown their inclination to accept

of the amnesty, especially as the day appointed for their departure out of that valley was not fixed; the Waldenses were not in a condition to defend themselves nor to make any resistance, but consented to lay down their arms, and implore the pity and compassion of the conqueror. But the French being enraged with what had passed before St. Germain, were not content merely to burn, ravish, and pillage, but they massacred without distinction of age or sex, with unparalleled fury, all that could not escape their barbarous cruelty. Catinat having ravaged all the country of Rioclaret after a most horrible manner, left some troops in the valley of St. Martin, traversed with the body of his army the mountains that separate this valley from that of Perouse, and encamped without any opposition, in the community of Pramol in the valley of Perouse; the soldiers notwithstanding put to the edge of the sword all that fell into their hands, without respect to women or children, to the aged or the sick. In the mean-time the detachment that Melac commanded, having encamped one night on the eminencies of the valley of St. Martin, entered through divers passages into that valley, unknown to any but the inhabitants of the country. Wherever he passed he left the marks of an unheard of cruelty, and joined the main body of the army that was encamped at Pramol. I shall not here give an account of the cruelties that were exercised on these and many other occasions: it will be sufficient to relate, in the sequel, some examples whereby one may judge of the rest.

It is necessary to interrupt the relation of the actions of the French in the valley of Perouse, because there happened things in the valleys of Lucerne and Angrogne that ought to be previously known.

The army of the Duke of Savoy having rendezvoused at the plain of St. John the 22d of April, was, the next day, divided into several bodies, to attack different entrenchments that the Waldenses had made in the valleys of Lucerne and Angrogne. The Waldenses not being able to resist the en-

emies' cannon in the posts that were too open, where the horse might also draw up, were forced, after some resistance, to abandon a part of these entrenchments, and to withdraw into a fort that was more advantageous above Angrogne, where they found themselves to be nearly five hundred men. The enemy having burnt all the houses that they found in their way, came to storm this fort of the Waldenses, who received them so warmly with their muskets and stones, and defended themselves so vigorously against this great body, that they kept their post all that day without the loss of more than five men; the enemy lost above three hundred, though they were covered with an entrenchment beyond pistol shot. The Waldenses fearing that they should not be able to keep this fort any longer, by reason that the troops increased, passed into another a hundred paces beyond it, in a more convenient place, there they waited with great resolution the army that advanced to attack them; when the next day, being the 24th of April, they were informed that the valley of St. Martin had surrendered, and that the French were coming on their rear; for from that valley there is an easy passage to those of Lucerne and Angrogne. This news obliged the Waldenses to treat with Don Gabriel of Savoy, uncle to, and general of the armies of, the Duke of Savoy, and with the rest of the general officers, who having understood the mind of his royal highness, promised positively on his part and on their own, that the Waldenses should be absolutely pardoned, and that they should be admitted to the terms of the order of the 9th of April, provided they would deliver themselves up to his clemency: but the Waldenses making some difficulty to confide in this promise, Don Gabriel, who had notice of it, sent them a note written and signed with his own hand in the name of his royal highness, to this effect, "Lay down your arms immediately, and submit yourselves to his royal highness's clemency, in so doing, assure yourselves that he will pardon you, and that your persons and those of your wives and children shall not be touched." An assurance of

this nature might give full satisfaction to the Waldenses for the security of their lives and liberties. For besides that this promise was made in the name and on the part of the duke ; on the other hand, though it had been made only by Don Gabriel and the general officers, it ought not to be less inviolable. The Waldenses, therefore, laid down their arms, relying on his promise, and the greatest part of them went and surrendered themselves to their enemies, believing that they should be quickly released. But all those that yielded themselves into their hands, were made prisoners, and carried to the city of Lucerne, under pretence of leading them to his royal highness to make their submissions. Their enemies also seized all the posts that the Waldenses possessed in the community of Angrogne ; they were not content only to plunder, to pillage, and to burn the houses of these poor people, but they also caused a great number of the Waldenses of every age and sex to be put to the sword ; they ravished abundance of women and virgins, and, in fine, committed actions so barbarous and brutal, that they are enough to strike horror into the minds of all that have any shame or sense of humanity left.

There were, nevertheless, many Waldenses, who after this compromise dispersed themselves up and down, not being willing to deliver themselves into the hands of their enemies, till they had heard what became of the first that did so. But seeing, on the one hand, that the army exercised all manner of outrage wherever it came, and, on the other, that all those that had surrendered themselves were detained, they hid themselves in the woods, and sent a petition to Don Gabriel, to entreat the release of their brethren whom they kept in hold contrary to their word, and to cause a cessation of hostility that the armies executed after so barbarous a manner. Don Gabriel returned no answer to this request ; but certain officers replied, that they carried the Waldenses to Lucerne, for no other cause, but to ask forgiveness of his royal highness, and that afterwards they should be released. In the mean-time Don

Gabriel caused the highest places of the valley of Angrogne to be gained by part of his army, who finding no more opposition, came as far as the tower, being the most considerable fort of the Waldenses, in which they had the greatest part of their cattle. The Marquis de Parelle, who commanded this body of the army, gave the Waldenses to understand, that a peace being concluded by the capitulation of Angrogne, he offered to them the enjoyment of the fruits of the said peace. He assured them to this effect, on the word and honour of a gentleman, that if they would deliver themselves into his hands, their persons, and those of their wives and children, should be preserved harmless; that they might carry away with them whatever they chose, without fear of having any thing taken away from them; that they had nothing to do but to come to Lucerne to make their submissions to his royal highness; and that, upon this condition, those that were willing to turn Catholics, might return with all safety to their houses and goods, and those that would go out of the estates of Piedmont, should have liberty to depart conformably to the order of the 9th of April. The Waldenses that were in the field and in the tower yielded themselves again, upon the credit of these promises, but they were no better performed than the other: for their enemies were no sooner entered within the bounds of the tower, when not only all that belonged to the Waldenses, was given up to the plunder of the soldiers, and of the banditti of Mondovi, their mortal enemies, who enriched themselves with their spoils: but those poor people, the greatest part of whom consisted of old men, sick persons, and of women and children, were made prisoners, with some ministers who were among them, and all hurried along so violently, that those who, through age or infirmity, could not march as fast as the soldiers would have them, had their throats cut, or were flung headlong down precipices.

In the valley of Perouse, the French committed almost the same outrages that the duke's troops had done at An-

grogne and at the tower in the valley of Lucerne. They were encamped in a quarter of the community of Pramol, called La Rua, distant about half an hour's march from another quarter, called Peumian, where a party of the communities of Pramol, St. Germain, Perrustin, and Rocheplatte were retreated, to the number of fifteen hundred persons, men, women, and children. The French might easily make a descent from their quarters to St. Germain, and carry away the two hundred Waldenses who had so valiantly defended themselves before, and were retreated within their intrenchments: but they being informed of the loss of the valley of St. Martin, and of the enemies' march, quitted this intrenchment, fearing lest they should be surprised in it, and went into Peumian with their brethren. Here they were consulting how they might defend themselves against the French who prepared to attack them, when certain inhabitants of the valleys, who had revolted to the enemy, came and assured them that the valleys of Angrogne and Lucerne had already submitted to their prince's discretion, who had pardoned them, and referred them to the terms of the order of the 9th of April. They told them also, that he only wanted them to put an end to a war, the weight whereof they were not able to sustain alone, and to procure for themselves an advantageous peace. This news having in part broke the measures of the Waldenses, they sent deputies and a drummer to treat with the general of the French army, who desired nothing more than a proposition of peace. He told them that his royal highness's intention was to pardon them, and promised them positively on the part of the prince and on his own behalf, the lives and liberties of the Waldenses, with a permission to return with all security to their houses and goods, provided they would readily lay down their arms: and whereas the deputies represented to him that they feared lest the French, being exasperated with what had passed at St. Germain, should revenge themselves on the Waldenses when they were disarmed; he made great protestations to

them, and confirmed them with oaths, that although the whole army should pass by their houses, yet they should not kill so much as a chicken. This proposition being made, Catinat detained with him one of the deputies, and sent back the others to give notice to the Waldenses, and to oblige all them that were dispersed to meet together the next day, being the 25th of April, at Peumian, to the end that every one might return to his house after they were informed of the peace. While the Waldenses were gathering together their scattered families at Peumian, Catinat gave an account of this capitulation to Don Gabriel, who sent a courier to him in the evening, and he passing through Peumian assured the Waldenses that he brought peace; and the next day, on his return, told them that the peace was concluded. They were so well persuaded of it, that they had laid down their arms the day before, observing the conditions of the treaty, and confiding wholly in Catinat's promises. In these circumstances they were expecting the news at Peumian, when there arrived one of the king's officers from the garrison of the fort of Prouse, with several dragoons with him. This officer, who was very well known to the Waldenses, repeated to them the assurances of peace, and caused the men to be put in one quarter, and the women and children in another. The French troops being arrived at the same time, told the men that they had orders to lead them to their own houses, and caused them to march four by four. These poor people being forced to leave their wives and their daughters exposed to the discretion of the soldiers, were conducted, not to their houses, as they had been told, but to Don Gabriel, who was encamped on the mountain of Vachiere, and he gave orders for them to be conveyed to Lucerne as prisoners of war! In the mean-time the females were subjected to all the abominable treatment that the rage and lust of brutish soldiers could invent. Not satisfied with plundering them of their property, these barbarians violated the persons of both married women and maidens, in a manner

that modesty forbids our relating; and several were put to death merely for resisting in defence of their honour. Mons. Catinat was not present when these atrocities were perpetrated at Peumian. He left the management of this affair to certain of his officers, no doubt that he might be out of the way of hearing the complaints which the Waldenses would have made to him, and not choosing to be a spectator of these barbarous proceedings. It is certain, however, that besides those that were put to death, and others that escaped by flying to the woods and mountains, from the persecution of these monsters, numbers were dragged to prison after a most inhuman manner.

The valley of Perouse being now reduced like the rest, by the capitulation of Peumian, a detachment of the French army quitted it and proceeded to join Don Gabriel at la Vachiere. And now, having completed their work, the conquered Waldenses were collected from all parts of Piedmont, and lodged in the different prisons or castles under pretence of leading them to his royal highness to ask his pardon and obtain their liberation. But this furnished their unfeeling adversaries with a fresh opportunity of displaying their inhumanity. The utmost precaution was taken to separate the different branches of the same family! The husband was carefully parted from his wife, and the parent from his child—thus depriving them of those means of succour and consolation which the ties of consanguinity naturally inspire. By this piece of refined cruelty they no doubt hoped to find the victims of their perfidy and malice the less able to withstand temptation, or endure the evils they had in store for them. Those that could ill bear the wretchedness of a close confinement, were to be consumed with the corroding anxiety and regret which must result from being separated from their dearest earthly connexions. There were, indeed, a great number of children, whom they did not send to prison, but dispersed them throughout Piedmont in private houses; but this was a piece of jesuitical craftiness, for they hoped by that means

to get them the more readily instructed in the principles of the Catholic religion.

But I must not prosecute this melancholy narrative more in detail, though what has now been laid before the reader can only be considered as a sample of the harvest. Dreadful as were the proceedings which took place in the massacre in 1655, as detailed in a former section of this work, they do not appear by any means to have surpassed in enormity the cruelties inflicted upon the Waldenses in 1686.* Those who deny the existence of the devil and his agency in prompting the human race to destroy one another, if they would account for the infernal cruelties that are related to have been now inflicted by the Catholics on the poor Waldenses, simply on the principle of human depravity, must necessarily entertain a much worse opinion of human nature than the writer of these pages has yet been able to bring himself to adopt. He can, indeed, admit much that militates against the dignity of human nature *in its lapsed state*; but he can only account for the monstrous cruelties that were perpetrated on a class of his fellow-creatures, the most harmless and inoffensive that ever inhabited the earth, on the principle of the active agency of “the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that worketh in the children of disobedience”—he who was “a murderer from the beginning”—“that old serpent, which is the devil and Satan”—the grand adversary of God and man. The present

* A pretty circumstantial relation of these things is to be found in several publications which appeared at the time, and particularly in two tracts now before me, from which the materials of this section are drawn. The first is entitled, “*The History of the Persecution of the Valleys of Piedmont, containing an account of what passed in the dispersion of the churches, in the year 1686.*” Printed in 4to. London, 1688. (See pp. 31—35.) The other is entitled, “*The State of Savoy, in which a full and distinct account is given of the Persecution of the Protestants, by means of the French Counsels.*” 4to. London, 1691. To this last mentioned work I am indebted for the valuable documents which the reader will find in the Appendix. Both the publications are so rare that I have not been able to meet with a second copy of either of them.

was *his* hour and the power of darkness ; but to return from this digression.

The armies of France and Savoy having inhumanly butchered a multitude of the Waldenses, committed more than twelve thousand of them to prison, and dispersed two thousand of their children among the Catholics ; concluding that their work was accomplished, caused all their property to be confiscated. And thus were the valleys of Piedmont depopulated of their ancient inhabitants, and the light of the glorious gospel extinguished in a country where, for many succeeding centuries, it had shone with resplendent lustre.

In the month of September, 1686, the Swiss Cantons convened a general assembly at Aran, to deliberate on the condition of those who were either imprisoned or in a state of exile in Piedmont ; and they came to the resolution of sending deputies to demand from the duke the release of all that were confined, and the privilege of quitting the country. The latter, probably by this time glutted with human carnage, signed a treaty, in consequence of which the prisons were set open, and leave given to such as had survived, to depart peaceably through that part of Savoy which borders on Berne and the territory of Geneva. But a bare recital of the miseries which the prisoners had suffered during their confinement, is sufficient to sicken the heart. More than ten thousand persons were distributed among fourteen prisons or castles in Piedmont. They were fed for months upon bread and water—the former, in which were often found lime, glass, and filth of various kinds was so bad as hardly to deserve the name ; while the latter in many instances, brought from stagnant pools, was scarcely fit for the use of cattle. Their lodging was upon bricks or filthy straw. The prisons were so thronged that, during the heat of the summer months, they became intolerable, and deaths were daily taking place. Want of cleanliness necessarily engendered diseases among them—they became annoyed with vermin, which prevented their sleep

either by night or day. Many women in child-bearing were lost for the want of the care and comforts necessary to such a situation, and their infants shared the same fate.

Such was the state of these afflicted and persecuted creatures, when the Duke of Savoy's proclamation was issued for releasing them. It was now the month of October; the ground was covered with snow and ice; the victims of cruelty were almost universally emaciated through poverty and disease, and very unfit for the projected journey. The proclamation was made at the castle of Mondovi, for example; and at five o'clock *the same evening* they were to begin a march of four or five leagues! Before the morning more than a hundred and fifty of them sunk under the burden of their maladies and fatigues, and died. The same thing happened to the prisoners at Fossan. A company of them halted one night at the foot of Mount Cenis; when they were about to march the next morning, they pointed the officer who conducted them, to a terrible tempest upon the top of the mountain, beseeching him to allow them to stay till it had passed away. The inhuman officer, deaf to the voice of pity, insisted on their marching; the consequence of which was, that eighty-six of their number died, and were buried in that horrible tempest of snow. Some merchants that afterwards crossed the mountains, saw the bodies of these miserable people extended on the snow, the mothers clasping their children in their arms!

It is but an act of justice, however, to add that, in some few instances, the officers who conducted the different troops of Waldenses out of the country, treated them with more humanity. Their own historians admit the fact, and it ought to be recorded that some took a particular care of them; and certainly the picture that is drawn of their deplorable condition is such as was well calculated to melt the most unfeeling heart to tenderness. The greater part of them were almost naked and without shoes; and they

all bore such striking marks of suffering and wretchedness that the very sight of them was enough to pierce the heart. Those who survived the journey arrived at Geneva about the middle of December, but in such an exhausted state, that several expired between the two gates of the city, "finding the end of their lives in the beginning of their liberty." Others were so benumbed with cold that they had not power to speak; many staggered from faintness and disease, while others having lost the use of their limbs were unable to lift up their hands to receive the assistance that was tendered them.

At Geneva they experienced that kind and hospitable reception which was due to them as their fellow-creatures, and more especially as their persecuted Christian brethren. They clothed the naked, fed the hungry, succoured the afflicted, and healed the sick. But what pen can describe the affecting scene which now took place while they halted at Geneva for rest and refreshment before they proceeded forward into Switzerland! Those who arrived first, naturally went out to meet those that came after, anxiously inquiring after their relations and friends, of whom they had heard nothing since the fatal catastrophe in the valleys of Piedmont. The father inquired after his child, and the child after its parent—the husband sought his wife, and the latter her partner in life. Every one endeavoured to gain some intelligence of his friend or neighbour; but as three fourths of them had died in prison or on the road, it exhibited a melancholy spectacle to see so many dissolved in tears at the distressing accounts they received. Their principal earthly comfort now arose from the hospitable kindness of the people of Geneva, who flocked around them and evinced such solicitude to conduct them to their own homes, that the magistrates of the city were obliged, in order to prevent confusion and disorder, to issue an injunction, prohibiting any from going out of the city. There was a noble emulation who should entertain the most sick, or those that were most afflicted. They received them not

merely as strangers in distress, but as Christian brethren, who brought peace and spiritual blessings into their families. All that needed clothing, were either supplied by those that lodged them, or by the Italian Bank, the directors of which, from first to last, evinced all the marks of tender compassion, and of disinterested kindness.

But it was not only at Geneva that the Waldenses met with this kind and hospitable treatment. The Cantons of Switzerland opened to them their country, and not their country only, but their hearts and affections also. The conduct of the Swiss, indeed, was so noble and disinterested throughout the whole of this distressing period, that it would be unjust to their memory to pass it over with a slight mention.* Perhaps the best way of evincing my own

* It would seem that the valleys of Piedmont were not the only spot in which the disciples of Christ were, at this period, the subjects of persecution. The following passage in Dr. Burnet's *Second Letter*, written from Switzerland, in 1685, lately struck my attention in glancing over that entertaining performance.

"In April, 1685, about five hundred persons, of different sexes and ages, passed through Coire (a town in Switzerland) who gave this account of themselves. They were inhabitants of a valley in Tirol, belonging mostly to the archbishoprick of Saltzburgh—a remnant of the old Waldenses. They worshipped neither images nor saints; and they believed the sacrament (of the Lord's supper) was only a commemoration of the death of Christ; and in many other points they had their opinions different from those of the church of Rome. *They knew nothing of either Lutherans or Calvinists*; and the Grisons, though their neighbours, had never heard of this nearness of theirs to the Protestant religion. The Archbishop of Saltzburgh hearing of them, sent some persons into the country to examine them, and to exhort them to return to Mass, and to threaten them with all possible severity if they continued obstinate. Perceiving a terrible storm ready to break upon them, they resolved to abandon their houses and all they had, rather than sin against their consciences; and the whole inhabitants of the valley, old and young, to the number of *two thousand*, divided themselves into several bodies; some intended to go to Brandenburg, others to the Palatinate, and about five hundred took the road to Coire, intending to disperse themselves in Switzerland. The Swiss ministers told me they were much edified by their simplicity and modesty; for, a collection being made for them, they desired only a little bread to carry them on their way." *Burnet's Letters*, p. 87—89. Amst. 1626.

impartiality will be to lay before the reader the testimony of Dr. Burnet, who in his letters from Italy, written, as it were, at the very moment, and from the very scene of action, thus proceeds:

“There is one thing for which the Swiss, and those of the Canton of Berne in particular, cannot be sufficiently commended. Ever since the persecution commenced in France (alluding to the revocation of the edict of Nantz) they have opened a sanctuary to such as retired thither, in so generous and Christian a manner, that it merits all the honourable remembrance that can be made of it. The ministers and others that had been condemned, not only found here a kind reception, but all the support that could be expected, and, indeed, much more than could reasonably have been expected. They assigned to the French ministers a salary of five crowns *per month*, if single, and, increased it to such as have wives and families, so that some have been allowed more than ten crowns a month.—And in this last total and deplorable dispersion of the churches, the whole country has been animated with such a spirit of love and compassion, that every man’s house and purse has been opened to the refugees, who have passed thither in such numbers that sometimes there have been more than two thousand in Lausanne alone, and of these there were, at one time, nearly two hundred ministers; and they all met with a kindness and frankness of heart that looked more like the primitive age revived, than the degenerate age in which we live.”*

Here, however, I think I may pause and draw this narrative towards a conclusion, which I shall do by offering a few obvious reflections on the whole of this interesting history. And the first thing that suggests itself is, that however we may be inclined to blame the conduct of the Duke of Savoy, that of Louis XIV., who compelled him to these sanguinary proceedings, is entitled to our chief condemnation. Referring to this final extirpation of the Waldenses

* Dr. Burnet’s Letters from Italy, Letter I. p. 57 and 58.

from Piedmont, our countryman, Dr. Burnet, who was then making the tour of the Continent, has the following remarks, in a letter which he dates from Turin, to a friend in this country :

“I will not engage,” says he, “in a relation of this last affair of the valleys of Piedmont; for I could not find particulars enough to give you that so distinctly as you might probably desire it. It was all over long before I came, to Turin; but this I found, that *all the court were ashamed of the matter*; and they took pains with strangers, not without some affectation, to convince them that the duke was, with great difficulty, forced into it—that he was long pressed to it, by repeated entreaties, from the court of France—that he excused himself from complying therewith, representing to the court of France the constant fidelity of the Waldenses ever since the last edict of pacification, and their great industry, so that they were the most profitable subjects that the duke had, and that the body of men which they had given his father in the last war with Genoa, had done great service, for it had saved the whole army. But all these excuses were unavailable; for, the court of France having broken its own faith which had been pledged to heretics, and therein manifested how true a respect it paid to the Council of Constance, now wished to engage other princes to follow this new pattern of fidelity which it had set the world. So the duke was not only pressed to extirpate the heretics of those valleys, but he was also threatened that if he would not do it, the king would send his own troops to extirpate heresy, for he would not only not suffer it in his own kingdom, but would even drive it out of his neighbourhood. He who told me all this, knowing of what country I was, added, that probably the French monarch might very soon *send similar messages to some others of his neighbours!*”*

* Dr. Burnet's Letters from Italy—Supplementary Letters, p. 162. Written in 1687, and printed the following year.

If Louis XIV. had any such favours in contemplation for our own country, as those that are hinted at in the conclusion of the foregoing paragraph, Britons have reason to be thankful to God whose overruling providence frustrated such sanguinary projects:—and had the race of the Stuarts continued to fill the British throne, it is more than probable that the horrible scenes of Piedmont had, indeed, been reacted among our forefathers in this happy land. But the glorious revolution which gave us a Protestant monarch, took place in 1688, the very year after Dr. Burnet wrote his *Supplementary Letters*, from which the foregoing extract is taken; and happily saved us from all danger of the tyrant's rage. And here, with a few reflections, I close the history of the Waldenses.

Enough, I presume, and more than enough, has appeared in the preceding pages to satisfy any unprejudiced reader, that the extermination of the churches of the Waldenses in Piedmont was *the act of the King of France*; or, if the shadow of a doubt should exist upon that subject, it must for ever be removed by a careful perusal of the Duke of Savoy's letter to the Duke of Orleans, which will be found in the Appendix to this volume.* In fact the whole of the correspondence between the court of Turin and that of France, which I have there given, affords such damning proof of the overwhelming despotism of Louis XIV. towards the Duke of Savoy, that the indignation which at first sight one is tempted to indulge against the latter, is converted into pity and compassion for him; and horrible as were the transactions committed under his reign, every liberal man will regard him as a sovereign "more sinned against than sinning." But let a reflecting mind contemplate these events as instigated by the counsels of France and perpetrated by the power of her arms; let them be connected in idea with the cruelties inflicted upon the Protestants in France, in consequence of the revocation of the

* See Appendix, No. 16.

edict of Nantz, which took place only a few years before; and if he believe "there is a God who judgeth in the earth," he will find little difficulty in tracing the hand of distributive justice in the series of calamities which have now, for nearly thirty years, afflicted that unhappy country. These are topics that Christians are but too apt to overlook, but they are of serious import and deserve consideration.

But what shall we say of the court of Rome, the great moving spring in all this machinery of complicated villany: that "holy mother church," which kept the conscience of Louis XIV. and of the other crowned heads who, from time to time, obsequiously lent their aid to massacre the Waldenses! I trust I may be permitted, without arrogance, on this occasion, to adopt the language of an unknown writer, who reviewed the former edition of this history. "The narrative which we have been perusing," said this liberal and enlightened critic, "leaves on the mind impressions of the utmost detestation for the spiritual tyranny exercised by the court of Rome. Providence never made use of so terrible a scourge to chastise mankind. No power ever outraged the interests of society, the principles of justice, and the claims of humanity, to the same extent. Never did the world behold such blasphemy, profligacy, and wantonness, as in the proceedings of this spiritual domination. It held the human mind in chains, visited with exemplary punishment every inroad on the domains of ignorance, and sunk nations into a state of stupidity and imbecility. Its proscriptions, massacres, and murders, and all the various forms which its cruelties assumed; the miseries which it heaped on the objects of its vengeance; its merciless treatment of them, and the grasp of its iron sway, seemed, at one time, to leave no room to hope for the liberation of the human race; and surely nothing can appear more hideous than this power in its true colours: it leaves the mind full of horror at its cruelties."* In all this I have the happiness

* MONTHLY REVIEW, JUNE, 1814, p. 204.

to agree; and though I have rarely ventured to express myself in terms so forcible as this writer has done, I have no hesitation in saying, in the words of an apostle—"THIS WITNESS IS TRUE." But I desist: and now take leave of the subject with presenting to the reader one extract more from the learned Dr. Allix.

"Never," says this excellent writer, "did the church of Rome give a more incontestable evidence of her own anti-christian spirit, than by her insatiable thirst after the blood of those Christians, who, six hundred years ago, renounced her communion: and to allay which she has made the blood of these poor innocent creatures every where to run down like rivers, exterminating, by fire and sword, those who were not terrified by her anathemas. During this long interval the Waldenses have ever been in the condition of sheep led to the slaughter, by their continual and uninterrupted martyrdoms maintaining and adorning the religion of Christ our Saviour, which the church of Rome having forsaken, now sought to accommodate to her corrupt and worldly interests, and to the design she had formed of making it a stalking horse to the pomp, lordliness, and tyranny of her Pope and clergy.

"Whatever reflections the members of the church of Rome may indulge relative to the circumstance of God's having apparently relinquished these poor churches to the fury of their cannibal adversaries, I am fully persuaded that those who have made the conduct of divine Providence towards the primitive church their study, will not be stumbled at this apparent desertion of the Waldenses, and their being abandoned to the outrageous cruelty of their persecutors, nor regard the ostensible triumphs of that apostate church as any indication of the weakness of the truth professed by the Waldenses. For notwithstanding the extreme rigour of their persecutions, we find that God hath tenderly preserved them till the Reformation; and though he has often exposed them to the rage and barbarous usage of their persecutors, yet has he, from time to time, afforded

them such deliverances, as have enabled them to continue until this day. Their persecutions, like those of the apostolic churches, have only served to procure martyrs to the truth of the glorious gospel, and to disperse throughout every land the knowledge and savour of that which the Romish party, treading in the steps of the ancient synagogue, so cruelly persecuted.

“Let the Bishop of Meaux then, if he please, insultingly tell the Protestants to go and look for their ancestors among the Waldenses, and hunt for them in the caverns of the Alps. His declamation shall never make us forego one jot of that tender veneration and respect which we have so justly conceived for this nursery and seed-plot of the martyrs, and for those valiant troops who have so generously lavished their blood in defence of the truth against all the efforts, all the machinations, and all the violence of the Roman Catholic party. The judgment that St. Hilarius expresses in his writings against Auxentius, ought to be sufficient to arm us against all the cavils of those who would insinuate that it is impossible the church should lose its purity, or that this purity should be preserved by churches reduced to caverns and mountains.—‘Of one thing I must carefully warn you,’ says he, ‘beware of Antichrist! It is ill done of you to fall in love with walls. It is ill done of you to reverence the church of God in buildings and stately edifices; it is wrong to rest in these things. Can you doubt that it is on these Antichrist will fix his throne? Give me mountains, forests, pits, and prisons, as being far safer places; for it was in these that the prophets prophesied BY THE SPIRIT OF GOD.’ ”*

* Dr. Allix’s History of the Churches of Piedmont, p. 293—296.

Appendix.

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

No. 1.

EDICT OF THE DUKE OF SAVOY, FOR THE EXTIRPATION
OF THE WALDENSES, JAN. 31, 1686.

VICTOR AMADEUS, *by the grace of God, Duke of Savoy
and of Piedmont, and King of Cyprus.*

POLITICAL as well as Christian prudence, advises us very often to neglect, in some manner, the ulcers that are not yet in a condition to be healed, and that might be made worse by a precipitate cure. This conduct has been observed as well in other monarchies, as by our most serene predecessors, who in truth had never any other design, than to rescue their subjects professing the pretended Reformed Religion, out of the darkness of heresy, which by an unhappy vicissitude, and a fatal corruption of these times, had passed from the very centre of the valleys of Lucerne, into the very heart of Piedmont. Nevertheless, by reason of the succours which the zealots of that religion received from foreign countries, this holy work could not be brought to the end we so much desired; insomuch that not having been able to purge our country of this poison,

we did reduce them to, and shut them up in the valleys of Lucerne, of Angrogne, of St. Martin, of Cernse, of St. Bartholomew, of Roccapiata, and of Parustin; and by way of toleration, we did suffer them to exercise there their false religion, in the limits before prescribed them, according to the juncture of times, till it should please God Almighty to give us a favourable opportunity of bringing back those misled souls into the bosom of the Holy and only Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish Religion. Yet time has discovered how much it was necessary to cut off the numerous heads of this hydra, since the said heretics, instead of answering this favour with a deep submission, and with a sincere acknowledgment of this kind toleration, have very often made bold to be disobedient, to a scandal, and to rise against their own Sovereign.

And because at present the principal cause of this said toleration is now removed by the zeal and piety of the glorious monarch of France, who has brought back to the true faith his neighbouring heretics; we think the particular graces we have received from his Divine Majesty, and which we enjoy still, would accuse us of the greatest ingratitude, if by our negligence we should let slip the opportunity of executing this work, according to the intention of our glorious predecessors. It is for this, and several urgent reasons, that by virtue of this present Edict, with our full knowledge, and by our absolute power, as also by the advice of our Council, we have declared and ordered, and do declare and order by these presents, to our subjects of the pretended Reformed Religion, to desist for the future from all the exercise of the said religion. And we do prohibit them further, after the publishing of this Edict, from holding any assemblies or conventicles, in any place or particular house, to exercise the said religion, under what title, pretext, or occasion whatsoever, under pain of their lives, and confiscation of their goods. And we ordain also, that the past pretended toleration be of no effect, under what colour or pretence whatsoever. Our

will is also, that all the churches, granges, and houses, in which at present the said religion is exercised, shall be razed to the ground; and also all other places in which for the future such assemblies shall be held, to the prejudice of what the precedent articles contain; and this is to be executed, though the owners of such places are ignorant thereof. And we command accordingly that all ecclesiastics, ministers, and schoolmasters, of the said pretended Reformed Religion, who, in one fortnight after the publishing this present Edict, do not effectually embrace the Catholic Religion, shall retreat out of our territories after the said term be past, under pain of death, and confiscation of their goods: with express command, and under the same punishment, not to make, within the said time, or before their departure, any sermon, exhortation, or any other act of the said religion. And furthermore, we forbid, under the said punishment, and the forfeiture of our favour, all those that make profession of the pretended Reformed Religion, to keep for the future any public or private school; it being our intention, that from this very time their children shall be instructed by Catholic schoolmasters. And concerning the ministers who within the said time shall embrace the Catholic Religion, our will and pleasure is, that during their lives, and after they are dead, their widows, as long as they shall live unmarried, shall enjoy the said exemptions and immunities which they enjoyed heretofore, during the exercise of their charge. And our will is over and above, that to the said ecclesiastics who shall be made converts in the said manner, there shall be paid during their life a pension one third part larger than the salary was which they enjoyed in quality of being ministers of the said religion; and that after their death their widows enjoy one half of the said pension as long as they shall continue unmarried. And concerning the children that shall be born by father and mother of the said pretended Reformed Religion, our intention is, that after the publishing this present Edict, they shall be baptized by the priests of the

parish that are already, or that shall be established for the future in the said valleys: to this purpose, we command their fathers and mothers to send or bring them to the churches, under pain of being sent five years to the galleys for their fathers, and whipping for their mothers; and moreover, the said children shall be brought up in the said Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Religion. And we command expressly all judges, bailiffs, gaolers, and other officers, to see these presents duly executed. And we do confirm also the Edict we have published the 4th of November past, concerning the subjects of His Most Christian Majesty that make profession of the pretended Reformed Religion, and that are to be found in our territories, and that have left their merchandises, money, or other effects behind them; and concerning the other foreigners of the said religion, who, to the prejudice of some of our predecessors' Edicts, have established themselves in the valleys, without their consent in writing, comprehending therein their offspring that are born there: we command, that in case, within one fortnight after the publishing this present Edict, they do not declare to be willing to embrace the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Religion, they shall be obliged, if the said term shall be past, to retreat out of our territories, under pain of death, and confiscation of their goods. And though lawfully, by virtue of the said Edicts, the goods which the said foreigners have acquired in our territories ought to be confiscated for our royal treasury; nevertheless we are willing in this case to show our accustomed clemency, and to give them leave to sell their said goods (if they please) within the said term, and to dispose of the same as they think convenient; yet upon these conditions, that the selling the immoveable goods shall only be made in favour of the Catholics; but in case they shall find no buyer, they shall be looked upon as sold, and united to our dominions under a reasonable price. Finally, we command all the magistrates established by us, ministers of state, officers, judges, and all others whom it concerns, to see this present

Edict inviolably observed ; and so to order the same, that the council of Piedmont may enrol it, and give their full approbation of what is contained therein. Moreover, our will is, that the publishing made hereof in the accustomed places, and in the ordinary manner, shall have the same virtue as if it had been made known to every particular person ; and that there be the same observance paid to the copy hereof, printed by Sinibal our printer, as to this my original itself ; FOR THIS IS OUR WILL. Given at Turin, Jan. 31, 1686.

VICTOR AMADEUS.

By his Royal Highness's
Command.

DEST. THOMAS.



No. 2.

MEMORIAL against the foregoing *Edict*, presented to the Court of Savoy, by CASPAR DE MURATT, and BERNARD DE MURATT, Counsellors of State, the first of Zurich, and the other of Berne, in Switzerland.

WHEREAS the Right Honourable the Ministers of State of his Royal Highness, have given us to understand, upon a private information of our reasons, that his present engagement, and into which he did not enter but by the necessity of the present juncture of the times, was a great obstacle to the success of our negotiation ; we find ourselves obliged to represent to your Royal Highness, that the churches of the valleys in Piedmont, did not separate themselves from the religion of their prince ; because they live in that they received from their predecessors about eight centuries ago, and which they did profess before they were under the dominion of your Royal Highness's ancestors, who having found them in the possession of their religion, have maintained them therein by several Declarations, and

principally by those of the years 1561, 1602, and 1603, which having been enrolled by the parliament of Chambery, in the year 1620, for the sum of six thousand French ducats, which these churches paid them, as the very act of enrolling mentions; their right passed into a form of transaction, and into a perpetual and irrevocable law, which has been observed during the life of his Royal Highness Victor Amadeus, and during the regency of Madam Royal, who confirmed them by her Declaration in the year 1638. These churches have, in following times, obtained several other favourable Declarations of his Royal Highness, Charles Emanuel, of glorious memory, your Royal Highness's father, in particular, in the year 1649 and 1653. But, whereas, to the prejudice of a right so well established by a possession immemorial, and by so many Declarations, the Sieur Gastaldo did nevertheless, in the month of February, 1655, publish a Declaration, that produced some terrible and fatal consequences to these poor churches: all the Protestant Kings, Princes and States of Europe, and particularly our Sovereign Lords, did concern themselves in their misfortune, and having interceded in their favour with his Royal Highness, Charles Emanuel, they obtained a confirmation of their privileges and of their concessions, by two solemn, perpetual, and inviolable patents, of the year 1655 and 1664, enrolled in a good form, and confirmed by the letters he did write to our Sovereign Lords, the 28th of February, 1664, by which he promised them to see these patents faithfully executed; to which the Royal Madam, your Royal Highness's mother, did engage herself also, by her letters dated January the 28th, 1679. Therefore, because your Royal Highness's ancestors had several times solemnly engaged their royal word, principally in those patents that were granted in the presence of the ambassadors our Sovereigns had sent for that purpose, it would not be just to break so many formal and authentic engagements, not only because these privileges and patents, being granted in the sight of all Europe, and by the mediation and in-

tercession of several kings, princes, and states, they are pledges and perpetual monuments of the public faith; but also, because the words and promises of Sovereigns ought to be sacred and inviolable. If engagements of this nature might be annulled under pretence of a necessity, to which the juncture of affairs might reduce a prince, or of some convenience and advantage to the estate, then there would be nothing secure in the world, and nothing would be seen there, but war and confusion. This maxim being once established amongst Sovereigns, the Protestant princes might as lawfully destroy the Catholics that are under their dominions, as the Catholics would have a right to extirpate their Protestant subjects. Therefore it is evident, that whether we examine the thing, as relating to the glory and reputation of the prince; or if we consider it according to the principles of true and just policy, that has no other end than the security of sovereign nations and states, we shall find that the words of princes ought always to be inviolable. It is for this reason that we are persuaded, that no necessity of the present juncture, nor any interest will oblige so just, so gracious, and so wise a prince, as your Royal Highness, to follow a new engagement, that does not only destroy all your predecessors have done in the eyes of the whole universe, but that exposes also your own state and subjects to the flames, butchery, calamities, devastation, and to the most cruel and inhuman rage and tyranny.

It is agreed, that it is natural for a pious prince to wish there was but one religion in his country; and that being persuaded that his own is the true one, it doth belong to his duty and charity to do all he can to persuade his subjects to it. But it ought to be allowed also, that religion enters into our hearts by means of persuasion, and not by force; and that to convince one of the Divine Truth, there ought to be employed nothing but instruction, sweetness, and exhortation, according to the practice of our Lord Jesus Christ and his Apostles.

That kings and princes, though they are masters of their subjects, yet they have no empire over their consciences, which are subject alone to God; insomuch that we have reason to hope, that your Royal Highness, far from forcing your subjects to do things against their consciences, you will be pleased, on the contrary, to restore them their peace, which we implore for them, to confirm their privileges, and to let them enjoy the liberty to give God that which is due to him, whilst at the same time they pay your Royal Highness that respect and homage which they owe you, as your faithful subjects.

My Lords, the ministers of state, have told us also, that the inhabitants of the valleys had rendered themselves unworthy of their prince's favour. But besides that all the world agrees, that before the publishing of the first Edict, they had given your Royal Highness no reason of complaint; and that, consequently, it is not their ill-conduct has drawn upon them so rigorous an order; and that if there were some amongst them that had committed a fault, (which we are yet ignorant of,) we ought not to be surprised, if some miserable wretches, that are brought to despair, should do some imprudent actions. Besides all this, we say, your Royal Highness is too gracious and too good not to pardon faults of this nature; and too just and equitable to punish the public for an excess that may have been committed by some particular persons.

In fine, they would make us believe, that those patents his Royal Highness Charles Emanuel granted in the years 1655 and 1664, did not concern religion, but gave them leave only to inhabit some certain places in the valleys; and that, consequently, our Sovereign Lords, and the other princes that were mediators in this affair, had no interest in it. But we beg your Royal Highness to consider, first, that religion was then so much the subject of the question, that properly no other things did belong to it; for besides that the order of the *Sieur Gastaldo*, that produced so many dismal consequences, did destroy these concessions

that were granted to the inhabitants of the valleys about religion, it was pretended at that time to force them to do things against their conscience, because they were threatened with death, and confiscation of their goods, that would not embrace the Catholic Religion within twenty days after they were ordered to do it.

Secondly, all the mediation and intercession of the Protestant princes and states, were only grounded on things concerning religion and conscience. They have only acted according to this principle, and the ambassadors were for no other reason received and heard, but by reason of the interest they took in a business concerning religion: and it is for this reason, that your Royal Highness's predecessors have given several assurances, by letters to their Excellencies the Evangelical Cantons, that the patents granted upon their request should be punctually and faithfully executed.

And, because to the prejudice of all that has been granted them, your Royal Highness has published an Edict that forbids them the exercise of their religion in all the valleys, under pain of death; that commands the demolishing all the churches, that banishes the ministers and schoolmasters, that commands that the children shall be baptized, and brought up in the Romish Religion, and that deprives by these means those people of their liberty of conscience: our Sovereign Lords, that are united to the churches of the valleys by the same faith, are obliged to continue to intercede for them: and it is thus we do now in their name, in hopes that your Royal Highness will be touched by some consideration of our Sovereign Lords, and by some compassion for your subjects.

The following Letters, No. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8, relate to the negotiations of the Swiss commissioners, between the churches of the valleys and the court of Savoy, and tend to

throw considerable light upon the unhappy and distracted state of affairs at this eventful period.

No. 3.

From the Commissioners, to the Waldenses.

WE do not doubt but that your deputies have faithfully acquainted you with our sentiments, which are not grounded according to our opinion, but upon the public good of your commonalties; and whereas, since our arrival at Turin, we have been informed there of several things that confirm us that our apprehension for you is just; that our advice is good and profitable; we hope that you will follow the counsel we have given to your deputies, being persuaded that God by his divine providence will find out for you a retreat, where you will find all the necessary supports of life and liberty, to serve him in his fear, and according to your consciences; and since you know, that the present state of your affairs requires a prompt remedy, and that there is not a moment to be lost to obtain it from your prince; we found it very necessary to dispatch immediately our Secretary to acquaint you, that his Royal Highness did not find it convenient to grant passports for your deputies; therefore we desire you to send us immediately your resolution in writing, for fear, if you should protract it, our services would be no more respected at court, and that you would render them unsuccessful to procure you a free and advantageous retreat, for which (if you desire it) we will address ourselves to his Royal Highness with all possible care and affection, &c.

No. 4.

From the Waldenses, to the Swiss Commissioners.

My Lords,

WE have received the letters which your Excellencies have done us the honour to send us by the Secretary of your embassy, and have been made sensible by him of the extraordinary care your Excellencies have taken to represent to his Royal Highness, our Sovereign, and his ministers of state, all the reasons that were most capable to maintain us in our right, as also the answers made upon the reproaches of our conduct, as well in general of all the valleys, as of some particular persons, for which we cannot but render to your Excellencies all the most humble thanks which the most grateful persons can be capable of. In the mean-time we have exercised all possible reflection on the subject of your letter; and on what side soever we turn our eyes, we find very great and almost insurmountable difficulties, which we have made bold to set down in the enclosed Memorial, which we humbly desire your Excellencies to take into your wise consideration. We are entirely persuaded that your Excellencies have no other end but to find some solid expedient for these poor churches. They cannot but make their humble entreaty, that in case it be impossible to revoke the published Edict, or to find some equitable moderation of it, you would have the kindness to follow these other expedients which you will judge most proper for the conservation of those that rely altogether upon your conduct, after having surveyed the difficulties which the said Memorial mentions. This is, my Lords, the general sentiment of those churches, who will never desist to pray the Divine Majesty for the prosperity of the sacred persons of your Excellencies, and the happy success of your holy employment. These are the prayers of,

My Lords,

Your most humble, most obedient, and most obliged

Servants, the Ministers and Deputies of the Evangelical Churches of Piedmont.

SIDERAC BASTIE, Moderator.

DAVID LEGER, Adjoint.

JEAN CHAUVIE, Secretary.

MINISTERS.

Jean Laurens.

Jean Jahier.

G. Manelot.

P. Leydet.

P. Jahier.

Giraud.

Bertrand.

DEPUTIES.

Jean Manelot.

Jacques Peyrot.

Jean Baptiste Roberto.

Etienne Gautier.

Paul Beax.

Jean Pierre Guantan.

Daniel Alberan.

Angrogne,
March 28, 1686.

No. 5.

From the Commissioners, to the Waldenses.

Gentlemen,

ACCORDING to your intention which you acquainted us with in your letter of the 28th of March, and the inclosed Memorial, we have desired of his Royal Highness, that he would be pleased to grant you leave to retreat out of his territories, and to dispose of all your goods; and to that purpose to give us some commissioners, with power to regulate the manner of your retreat: whereof his Royal Highness has given us to understand by one of his ministers, that being your Sovereign, he could not, without making a breach into his honour and authority, enter into a treaty with you; but that it was requisite you should send him five or six persons, with full power to make him that sub-

mission which you owe him; and to ask by a petition, what favour you desire should be granted to you; and that afterwards he will let you see the considerations he has for our sovereignty. It is true, that we expected a more favourable answer than this; but nevertheless, to take away all pretences his Royal Highness could take hold on, to make such deliberations that might be fatal to you, we think you will do well to send your Deputies hither as soon as is possible, promising you that we will assist them with our counsels in the delivering their petition. Our Secretary is to deliver you this letter, with the inclosed passports, which will acquaint you more at length with the particulars of our negotiation, and with the disposition of the Court in your regard, &c.



No. 6.

From the Waldenses, to the Commissioners.

Most High, Mighty, and Sovereign Lords,

IN consequence of the letter your Excellencies have been pleased to write to these valleys some few days ago, our churches of St. Jean, Angrogne, and Boby, throw themselves at your feet, to assure you of their humble respect, and of their due acknowledgements of the favours your Excellencies have endeavoured to obtain for them, from his Royal Highness, our Sovereign, concerning the continuation of the exercise of our religion in these places. And concerning the proposals that are now on foot, having been incapable of persuading our people to come to the same sentiments which the other churches have, in order to comply with your Excellencies demands, we have charged our Deputy, Mr. Daniel Blanchis, Syndicus of the commonalty of St. Jean, to acquaint you by word of mouth, of our true sentiments. And we humbly beseech you, that

you would be pleased to continue the effects of your inexpressible and paternal kindness, and principally in regard to your powerful intercession with his Royal Highness, about the above-mentioned subject: beseeching the Lord to bless your negotiation, and to be your abundant rewarder for all the cares, pains, and troubles your Excellencies have the goodness to take for our poor flocks, in the name of which we make it always our glory to carry with all respect and submission imaginable, the title of your Excellencies most humble, most obedient, and much obliged Servants, the Deputies of the following churches,

MICHAEL PURISE,
JEAN MUSTON,
Of the Church of St. Jean.

JEAN PUTTA, *for Angrogne.*

MARQUE DE DANIEL,
NEGRIN N. *Syndicus,*
FRANC. DANE, *Counsellor,*
STEPHEN PERTIN, *Deputy,*
Of the Church of Bobby.

Angrogne, April 4, 1686.



Monsieur de la Bastie, minister at Angrogne, touched by the divisions of these poor churches, wrote to the Ambassadors in the following terms :

No. 7.

My Lords,

I TAKE the liberty to tender your Excellencies my most humble respects, by the Deputies that go to Turin, to make their submission to his Royal Highness, and to present him such a petition as your Excellencies will think fit. I and my brethren are in the greatest consternation and affliction in

the world, to see our people so much divided about a retreat, apprehending their divisions will defeat your Excellencies' charitable negotiation with his Royal Highness in our behalf, and render your cares and troubles unsuccessful. We have employed our utmost endeavours to make them sensible that, considering the present juncture of affairs, it was the best resolution they could take; but we have not been happy enough to have like success with all. If we were not satisfied of your Excellencies' incomparable kindness, we should have reason to fear that this indiscreet conduct would much change your goodness and zeal for our interest. We most humbly beseech your Excellencies to make use on this occasion of your goodness and clemency, and to continue in your indefatigable cares for these poor churches. I most humbly beg your Excellencies' pardon for my boldness, and beseech you to give me leave to tender you my most humble respects, and to assure you, that I am with all the respect and submission imaginable,

My Lords,

Your Eccellencies' most humble, most obedient,
and most obliged Servant,

SIDRAC BASTIE, *Minister.*

Angrogne, April 4, 1686.



The following admirable letter was drawn up by the Swiss commissioners, in consequence of the difference of opinion that existed among the Waldenses about quitting the valleys. It certainly reflects great honour upon their memories, and shows them to have been men of a right spirit. It was sent back into the valleys by the hands of the deputy of the church of Bobio.

No. 8.

Gentlemen,

It is true that one's native soil has great charms, and that most men have a natural desire to live and die there; yet the children of God ought not to set their hearts there-upon, because they are foreigners upon earth, and heaven is their true native country; therefore you will be guilty of mistrusting God's providence, if you fancy you cannot find any other country where you may live conveniently, and adore your heavenly Father. In what part of the world soever we ourselves be transported, we ought to think ourselves happy, provided we there have freedom to serve God according to our consciences. You ought to propose to yourselves the examples of the patriarchs, who have drawn upon them God's blessing by trusting to his promises, and by abandoning their houses and fields, to go to inhabit some remote country. A confidence of this nature, cannot but be very acceptable to the Lord; and it is without doubt more agreeable with the spirit of the Gospel, than to take up arms against your Sovereign; it is to sufferings that Christians are called, and not to a resistance; and we do not find that either the apostles, or the primitive church, made use of any other weapons against their persecutors than prayer and patience. These are the considerations that have obliged our Sovereign Lords, the evangelical cantons, to give us orders to procure for you from his Royal Highness, your lawful prince, a free retreat, with permission to dispose of your goods, in case he would no longer grant you the exercise of your religion; and though you look upon this retreat as an insupportable unhappiness, yet they do nevertheless consider it as a favour, reflecting, according to their great wisdom, upon the miserable condition to which you are reduced; and indeed they did think that it would be very hard to obtain it from his Royal Highness, and that in case he did grant it upon their request, you ought not only to accept it with submis-

sion, but to show your great acknowledgment for it ; you cannot, therefore, doubt that we have been surprised to hear that you have any difficulty in resolving yourselves to it, and that you have a design to resist two powerful princes that are resolved to extirpate you, in case you make the least opposition ; for by this behaviour you do not only act against your duty, against Christian prudence, and against your true interest, but you give us also just reasons to complain of you, that having engaged us in a negotiation with your prince, you will not accept of those advantages we are in a condition to procure you. Open therefore your eyes, and consider the misfortunes you draw upon yourselves, and the fatal consequences of your design, that must needs turn to the entire destruction of your churches and families. Consider, that what is offered you, is so advantageous, considering the present state of your affairs, that several persons of the greatest quality, would have accepted of it as the greatest happiness, in the late persecutions of France, and that they would have been exceedingly joyful to get stark naked out of their country without hindrance. If you properly reflect upon all these things, we hope that the example of those that are of a better opinion will touch and persuade you to follow the same conduct ; but if you refuse to imitate it, and if you persist in your obstinacy, you will be guilty before God, not only of having thrown away your lives, which you might have saved, and of having exposed your wives and your children to the massacre, but also of having caused the ruin of these noble remains of the Waldensian churches, which you might have transported into some other country. And do not flatter yourselves with being able to prevent these evils by the means of some succours that some persons have promised you ; for we do assure you, that those that entertain you with these vain imaginations only abuse you, and that you cannot be assisted from any side : you ought to consider, that you will be left by all men, and by some of the very inhabitants of your country ; and that therefore you

will soon be destroyed, either by the sword or by famine, and that those that may escape the fury of their enemies, will finish their lives either by being burnt at the stake, upon the rack, or the gallows. We conjure you, that you would be prevailed with by such powerful considerations, and to agree with the sentiments of the commonalty, that are resolved to desire of their prince a permission to retreat out of his territories, being persuaded that the divine providence will conduct you to some places where you will perhaps find more advantageous establishments than those you leave behind you; and where those that are poor will not be in want of charitable persons that will provide them with all necessaries. In expectation that God will inspire you with good resolutions, and that you will give to your Deputy such a procuration as those of the other commonalties have given, we recommend you to his mercy and his divine protection, resting, Gentlemen, your very affectionate to render you service.

Turin, 5th of April.



No. 9.

SECOND EDICT FROM THE DUKE OF SAVOY. DATED
APRIL 9, 1686.

DIVINE providence having established Sovereigns above the people, has given to the first the distribution of favours and punishments, that the hopes of the one might make the good mindful of their duty, and that the sense of the other might prevent the bad from abandoning themselves to evil. This latter ought to fall from our avenging hands upon our subjects of the valleys of Lucerne, who make profession of the pretended Reformed Religion; because it is notorious that they have not only gainsayed with great obstinacy our Order of the 31st January last, but that they have also har-

dened themselves in their crime, and are fallen into an enormous and consummate rebellion; nevertheless our natural clemency surpassing their crime, and not contenting ourselves with our fatherly kindness, with which we have so long time unsuccessfully waited for their repentance, we have still been willing to leave to their will, (which has ever followed bad counsels) the choice of a happy or miserable condition, and to open to them at the last trial the gates of our favour, that so they may be able to take hold of it in the following manner, and that in case they should not answer it by a ready obedience, they might not be able to impute to any thing but their own rashness, their deserved punishments, which we shall inflict upon them without delay.

Therefore, confirming in the first place our Order of the 31st of January last, as far as it shall not be found contrary to this, we have by virtue of this present Edict, with our certain knowledge, full power and absolute authority, and with advice of our privy council, commanded all our subjects of the valieys of Lucerne, making profession of the pretended Reformed Religion, to lay down their arms, and to retire into their houses within the term hereafter prescribed.

We command them also to form no more associations, nor to hold any conventicles; that so, according to our intention, the judges of the place may have free access, and that the missionaries and other religious persons may return to the churches which they have been forced to leave, and that the Catholics, and those which have embraced the Catholic Religion, may return to their houses which they have abandoned.

And whereas it is not reasonable that the religious missionaries, the Catholics, and those who have embraced the Catholic Religion, should be at any loss by occasion of several damages which they have received from those of the pretended Reformed Religion, we desire, command, and ordain, that all the necessary sums to indemnify them be ge-

nerally and without distinction levied upon the goods of those of the pretended Reformed Religion, so as that it shall be summarily enforced before the Chevalier Monzoux, intendant of justice of the valleys, declaring, nevertheless, that in case those of the said religion prove that the damages have been caused by some particular persons, they may have their recourse and warrant against them.

And to show our said subjects how great our clemency is towards them, we grant leave to those that shall think of a retreat out of our territories, to do it within the term, and upon the conditions, hereafter prescribed: but because their ill-will has showed itself but too much by their past conduct, and that several could hide their evil designs under a false pretence of obedience, we reserve for ourselves, besides those who shall retreat out of our territories upon their own motion, to ordain it also to such as we shall think fit, and as we shall find it most expedient to secure the peace of those that shall stay behind, whence we do intend to prescribe the rules which they shall observe for the future.

And for an augmentation of our favours, we grant leave, as well to those that shall voluntarily retreat, as to those who retreat by our orders, to take along with them their goods and effects at their pleasure, and to sell those they shall leave behind them, provided they do it in such a manner as is hereafter prescribed.

The same is to be understood concerning strangers, and those that are born from strangers, who are to conform themselves to all but the last article of our Order of the 31st of January last, here above-mentioned.

The said selling of goods shall be made to Catholics, or to persons that have embraced the Catholic Religion; but because there may perhaps not be found buyers within the term here before prescribed, and that we are not willing that the zealots of that religion, who shall retreat out of our territories, should be deprived of the benefits of our present concession, they may agree about, or fix upon, persons into whose hands they shall put their procurations, who shall

have leave to stay during three months in Lucerne, with full liberty to treat and negotiate with whom they think fit to sell the goods of those who shall have retreated, and who shall have leave to prescribe in their procurations the conditions of their selling their goods for their better security, to receive the price thereof in what place soever they desire it should be sent them, without fraud and deceit of the constituted procurators, which the Chevalier and Intendant Monzonx shall take care of.

Those that shall be willing to retreat, shall be obliged to meet at the day and place hereafter specified, to be ready to depart without firearms by the way that shall be named them, either through Savoy, or the valley of Aste; to this purpose, we will provide them with passports, that they may receive no ill usage or hindrance in our territories; but that on the contrary, they may find all possible assistance; and because that being in great number they may be exposed to some inconveniencies upon the way, and in the places through which they are to go overcharged, they shall divide themselves into three bodies as is herein before-mentioned. The first shall be composed of those of the valleys of Lucerne, and shall meet at Tour this month of April; the second composed of those of the valleys of Angrogne, St. Bartholomew, Rocheplatte, and Perrustin, shall meet at St. Second, and shall part the day following, *viz.* the twenty-second of this month; the third and last made up of those of the valleys of St. Martin and Perouse, shall meet at Micadole, and part from thence the third day, *viz.* the twenty-third of this month.

The term wherein our said subjects of the pretended Reformed Religion, that inhabit the valleys of Lucerne, shall be obliged to lay down their arms, in the manner prescribed in the first article of this present Order, is within eight days after the publication hereof in Lucerne, during which they ought to have obeyed the contents of the said Order, to enjoy the fruits of our clemency, by which as well as our fatherly affection towards our said subjects, we leave to its

nature and course, notwithstanding the enormity of their crimes. And by means of a punctual observation of all herein contained, we grant our favour, pardon, remission, absolution, and a full amnesty to our said subjects of all their excesses, misdemeanors, crimes, and other things which they may have committed since the publication of our Order of the thirty-first of January last, as well in general as particular, so that they may not be called to an account for it under any pretence whatsoever, prohibiting all judges, fiscals, and others whom it belongs to, to inquire into it. But because in case they should render themselves unworthy of such favours, by not observing all that is here above-mentioned, within the prescribed term, it would be too pernicious an example to delay any longer their deserved punishments, after having been prodigal to them of our favours, and after having waited so long time for their repentance, we intend to make use of those means which God has put into our hands to bring the obstinate to their duty, and to make them feel the punishment of their great presumption.

Given at Turin, the 9th of April, 1686.

Enrolled the 10th.



No. 10 and 11.

Letters from the Deputies of the churches of Boby, St. John, and Angrogne, to the Swiss Ambassadors.

My Lords,

WE did not fail immediately after the arrival of our deputy, to make some copies of the letter which your Excellencies have been pleased to write to our churches, and they have been read every where after sermon. There can nothing be said that is either more true, or more moving and comforting; and your Excellencies may be fully per-

suaded, that there is no body but that finds, and does acknowledge, that it is the effect of your holy and Christian charity towards our churches; yet notwithstanding it has been till now absolutely impossible to dispose our people to a retreat out of this country; some out of fear it might cause the loss of several persons that shall venture to stay behind; others by a principle of conscience; and others from several other considerations, which our deputy will explain to your Excellencies by word of mouth. We are in the greatest consternation about it, and scarcely dare to appear before your Excellencies with so much irresolution. Our people adhere the more to their opinion, because they have been informed that several other churches, at least a great part of those that composed them, did not know that the business was about such a retreat, when they gave their procuration to their deputies, or if they had understood them, they had changed their minds, which gives us just reason to fear, that in case your Excellencies should be farther engaged for this people, you would be extremely displeased with their refusal to retreat; and it was by reason of this fear which we had here the last Sunday, when we desired your Excellencies to give us leave to inform ourselves of the minds of our people about this proposition, foreseeing at the same time that it would be very hard to persuade them to it: they were for the most part resolved to be their Father's children, and hope that the Lord will be their deliverer, that he would make use of feeble things to confound the strong, and that heaven would find out some hinderance to those designs which are formed against us. We do not question but this extremely afflicts your Excellencies; and we are touched with it to our very souls; but it is not in our power to change their hearts, and to dispose of other men's wills; nevertheless we conjure your Excellencies, in all possible humility, that you would be pleased not to abate your kindness to these churches, neither to deprive us of your powerful and comfortable support, which, under God, has made us to subsist till now. For God's

sake do always pity us : what way soever our affairs shall go, we lay our souls before God, to supplicate him with all ardency, that he would be pleased to direct all things to the glory of his holy name, and the preservation of our people; and that he would grant by his Divine providence, by the means of your Excellencies, that we may still get the prolongation of some days, that we may once more inform ourselves of the sentiments of our people by the collecting every man's voice in particular, if it be possible, to know their final resolutions; so that we may not be blamed, neither of one side or another. The Lord be the abundant rewarder of your Excellencies' kindness, and we are, with all manner of respect,

My Lords,

Your Excellencies' most humble, most obedient,
and most obliged Servants,

THE DEPUTIES OF BOBY, ST. JOHN, AND ANGROGNE.

JOHN AGHITTO,
DANIEL GRAFFE,
ESTIENNOR DANNO,
Deputies of Boby.

MICHAEL PARISA,
JOHN MUSCHON,
Deputies of St. John.

JOHN DUFFA,
PIEZZE DUFFA,
LEWIS ODIN,
Deputies of Angrogne.

Angrogne, April 9, 1686.

Most High, Mighty, and Sovereign Lords,

WE throw ourselves in all humility at your Excellencies' feet, to show you our most sensible and inexpressible concern, that a great part of our people are not able to appreciate with Christian prudence the favour your Excellencies endeavour to procure them, by a free retreat out of this country, with person and goods, and to embrace it with holy joy, as a present from heaven, and a favour which they have sighed for at other times. This makes our hearts bleed, and so much the more, that your Excellencies' letter, which you have been pleased to write to them, ought to have immediately disposed them to an affair of this nature; yet we dare still most humbly beseech your Excellencies to have the goodness to exercise love on all these considerations, as knowing very well that we have to do with persons whom it is very hard to compass, and to make them all sensible of the reason, and the state of things, but by experience, and principally when it is about abandoning their old and dear native soil: there are, nevertheless, a great many, and the principal of them, who resign themselves entirely to your Excellencies' counsel, charity, and prudence, and that will never oppose what you shall find most expedient for the glory of God, and their welfare and preservation. The ministers also are all of the same opinion, and we are all willing punctually to observe the counsel your Excellencies shall be pleased to give us. And we most humbly beseech you to pity us and our families, to extricate us out of an unhappy state which to all appearance is unavoidable; this is the favour we hope from your Excellencies, and pray the Lord to bless your Lordships with all manner of prosperity; and we are with all possible respect and submission, most high, mighty, and sovereign Lords,

Your Excellencies' most humble, and
most obedient Servants,

SIDRAC BASTIE,

GUILLAUME MALLANOT.

Angrogne, April 9, 1686.

I. We have been informed for certain, by a credible person, that his Royal Highness will not grant us a retreat with our goods, but that he pretends to detain them for the charges he has been at already.

II. That he absolutely insists that the ministers and foreigners should be delivered into his hands.

III. That we should lay down our arms, and that we should deliver them up to the governor.

IV. That the troops are to enter into the valleys to demolish the churches, and to obstruct all divine exercises.

V. In fine, we have been informed, that the council would by no means suffer that the French troops should march against us.



No. 12.

Memorial of the Swiss Ambassadors to the Duke of Savoy.

YOUR Royal Highness is humbly requested to consider, that he that will retreat out of the valleys by virtue of your published Order, is obliged to prepare himself for his departure, for the transportation of his wife, his children, and his goods that will be necessary to him; that he will be obliged to dispose in several places what he cannot carry along with him; that he must provide for the sale of his corn, of his provisions, of his wine, of his cattle, which he would not be forced to leave at random, and that he cannot intrust with his procurator at Lucerne, and who consequently by reason of the distance of the place, will be incapable to take care of it; that within the term of eight days he will not be able to settle accounts either with his creditors or his debtors, because those he has to do with do not live in the valleys, or because there may be some accounts that cannot be regulated but by arbitration; that in consideration of goods immoveable, there is to be made an exact description of the vineyards, meadows, fields, and

woods, whose boundaries and limits are to be marked out and described, as also of the rights thereunto belonging, and the sums for which they are mortgaged, and that there ought to be granted some particular procurations to that purpose. Therefore your Royal Highness having been pleased by an instinct of your justice and clemency, to grant to your subjects of the valleys leave to retreat wherever they please, and to sell their goods which they shall leave behind them, you would not wish that this favour should be unprofitable to them, by obstructing the favour of this concession by the shortness of time, to take away from them with one hand what you had given them with the other. Your royal highness is also requested to consider that six trustees are not enough for the sale of goods belonging to several hundreds of families that shall be willing to retreat; that this commission cannot be given but to people of the country, and consequently to persons without learning and without capacity, and taken up with their own affairs; that besides, these trustees will be obliged to run to several places to find out buyers, to let them have a view of the property which they are to buy, that settlements must be made in several places before several notaries, that they are to watch at the selling of a great number of moveables that are dispersed in several houses, to count money, to change it, and to send it to them into foreign countries, to find out some conveniencies for that purpose, to write to their correspondents for the clearing of several doubts that may be raised, to remove the obstructions they shall meet with, to defend themselves against some unjust demands, to receive letters from those they shall write to from the places of their retreat, to acquaint them with the state of their affairs, and in a word, to be charged with a thousand other occupations that we cannot now foresee: Therefore, because your Royal Highness does not intend to enrich yourself with the goods of your poor subjects, nor to augment your revenues by their losses, you will be pleased to grant them leave to nominate twelve persons that

within the time prescribed by your Royal Highness, shall proceed to the sale of the goods of those that shall have retreated. But because it will undoubtedly happen, that within the term of three months, with what diligence soever, the trustees may proceed to the sale of the goods of the poor refugees, there will be found few chapmen, and that every body will expect the end of the term to take advantage of the necessity to which the trustees will be driven to dispose of their goods, and to have them from those wretched people at an under price, by reason of their fear to lose all, we hope your Royal Highness will have the goodness to prevent this inconvenience, and according to the agreements made in the year 1663, with his late Royal Highness of glorious memory, you will buy at a reasonable price the moveable and immoveable goods, that within the space of three months shall not be sold.

And forasmuch as your Royal Highness distinguishes yourself by your goodness and clemency, you are not willing, without doubt, to oblige any body to impossibilities, and therefore must be aware that females newly brought to bed, or such as are in the last month of their time, and old and sick men, are incapable of travelling, you will make no difficulty to dispense in their favour with the law you have prescribed to others about their retreat, and exempt them from quartering soldiers, who, how well soever disciplined, always cause some disorder, and carry distress into all places where they enter, as also to grant them leave to live and die in their houses without fear of being ill used, and of being spoiled of their goods and provisions.

In fine, we beseech your Royal Highness that you would be pleased instantly to use your clemency towards those of the valleys that are detained in your prisons, and towards those that have been taken up on that account, and that you will be pleased mercifully to set them at liberty.

No. 13.

From the Swiss Ambassadors, to the Churches of the Valleys.

Gentlemen,

AT the secret audience which we had of his Royal Highness, your prince, we have earnestly desired him, that he would be pleased to grant you a retreat out of his territories upon more gracious conditions than those that are expressed by the last Edict; and we have represented to him, as well by word of mouth, as by our memorial, all the reasons that might be capable of moving and to prevail with him to mitigate the Orders he has already published against you. We solicited him to grant you a longer term to dispose yourselves for so troublesome a retreat, and to sell your goods, and that he would be pleased to augment the number of the trustees charged to sell them; to give leave that the aged, sick, and infirm persons, and women newly brought to bed, or that were big with child, might stay behind in the country without being exposed to any ill usage, and without being obliged to quarter soldiers; and in fine, to give orders that his procurators might sell the goods that should not be vended within the time prescribed by his Edict. But we have not been able to obtain the least thing from his Royal Highness, because he has been informed that you are up in arms to obstruct the execution of his orders. We have also endeavoured to persuade the Marquis of St. Thomas that he would be pleased to employ his credit with his Royal Highness, to dispose him to grant us what we desired in your favour: but he has given us to understand, that as long as you shall keep in arms, there are no hopes for you. His Royal Highness departs this day for Precairas, and we have had our audience of Conge, with a design to return immediately into our country, except God's providence give us some more favourable occasion to serve you; and

since without taking notice of some wise men's counsels, you resign the event of your affairs to God's providence, we beseech him that he would be pleased to assist you in your calamity, and direct all to his glory, and your temporal and spiritual welfare. Resting, after we have recommended you to God Almighty's favour, &c.

Turin, &c.

No. 14.

*Letter from several of the Pastors of Churches in Piedmont,
addressed to the Cantons of Switzerland.*

Most High, Mighty, and Sovereign Lords,

OUR churches have for a long time experienced, and principally in these unhappy troubles that have happened to them, the incomparable charity and fatherly affection of your Excellencies towards them, and still very lately, by sending our Lords the Ambassadors to His Royal Highness, upon occasion of the Order of the 31st of January last, published against us, as we have been informed of, by the letter which you have been pleased to direct to us. We are not able enough to acknowledge the care, trouble, and pains which our Lords the Ambassadors have taken in our favour and preservation, towards our Sovereign, and had they met with hearts disposed to our welfare and quietness, their intercessions would not have failed of being successful; but it ought to be confessed, that our condition is very bad from that quarter; we, nevertheless, render to your Excellencies, with all the sentiments of acknowledgments we are capable of, our most humble and hearty thanks for so many favours we have received from their holy and Christian charity. We are very sensible, and confess it, though with great confusion, that our Lords the Ambassadors have not had from our people all that satis-

faction that might have been wished for, concerning their resignation into your hands : but we most humbly beseech you to employ your charity and support towards a people that make to themselves a point of conscience and honour to preserve their religion in their native country, where it has been a long time miraculously preserved. We are very sensible that as to the world, our ruin is unavoidable, but we are in hopes that God will revenge his quarrel, and that good and charitable people will not abandon us ; and principally we put our trust under God, in your Excellencies, and throw ourselves into your fatherly arms, beseeching you for the compassion of God, and in the name of his Son Jesus Christ, our common Father and Saviour, not to deprive us of your charity and affection, and to throw the eyes of your clemency and tenderness upon so many poor families, little children, and other weak miserable persons, as to the world, to let them feel the favourable effects of your Christian goodness. We beseech the Lord that he would be pleased to be the perpetual preserver of your Excellencies, and the abundant rewarder of all your holy and Christian charities ; and are with all the veneration imaginable,

Most High, Mighty, and Sovereign Lords,
your Excellencies' most humble, most
obedient, and most obliged Servants,

*The Ministers, Elders, and other directors of the
Churches of the Valleys in Piedmont, and for all,*

S. BASTIE, Moderator.
GR. MATANT, Minister.

No. 15.

*Letters from the Pastors of the Churches in the Valleys of
Piedmont to the Swiss Ambassadors.*

My Lords,

We do intend to communicate immediately to our commonalties your Excellencies' letters : we could have wished that they had been more mindful of those wise counsels your Excellencies have given them to prevent such danger and desolation as in all human probability is now unavoidable : we pray to God that he would be pleased to crown their resolution, though against all appearance, with success, and to strengthen their infirmity and feebleness. I do believe that all the ministers do design to live and to die amongst them, because your Excellencies do not disapprove it : and, indeed, it would neither be honest nor excusable to abandon them in such a juncture of time ; and we should certainly have reason to think ourselves guilty in part of their loss, because a good shepherd is bound to lay down his life for his flock. We continue to give your Excellencies our most humble thanks for the trouble and indefatigable care you have taken for our welfare and subsistence ; and we conjure you by the compassion of God, and by the charity of Jesus Christ, not to forget us, but whether it be during your stay at Turin, or after your return to the most high and mighty Protestant Cantons, to favour us with your affliction and Christian charity upon all occasions. We pray our great God and Saviour that he would be pleased to reward the pains and charities of your Excellencies towards these churches, with his most precious blessings in heaven and earth, and to cover your sacred persons with his inviolable protection : these are the sin-

cere and fervent wishes of those that are, with profound respect,

My Lords, your Excellencies' most humble and
obedient servants,

*The Ministers of the Evangelical Churches of the
Valleys of Lucerne, Angrogne, Perouse, St. Mar-
tin, &c. in Piedmont, and in the name of all.*

S. BASTIE, Minister

Angrogne, April 17, 1686.



No. 16.

*Letter from his Royal Highness the Duke of Savoy, to the
French King's Brother, the Duke of Orleans.*

AMONGST the many and great troubles, under which I am at present, seeing none but you capable of giving some ease to my afflicted spirits, I hope you will give me leave to do what unfortunate men have only left to do ; that is to say, to justify their conduct, and to demonstrate their reasons to those that are not yet so far from all equity, as to refuse to pity them. What have I ever done else to the king, than to serve him in the most substantial things he desired of me? *Have I not sacrificed to his satisfaction the valleys of Lucerne, to my own prejudice, and against all the principles of true politics?** Did I not consent to give him three of my regiments, at the same instant his ambassador made the first mention of it? *Is it not evident, that to please the king, I have abandoned my interest, my country, and my person, by such compliances, as have drawn upon me great aversion from all the Protestant powers, of*

* Here is a frank avowal that the duke had consented to the destruction of the Waldenses to oblige the King of France. ED.

the Emperor, of the King of Spain, and of all the Confederate Princes? Wherein have I ever displeased the King?

His ambassadors have sometimes made their complaints about some little insignificant things, a thousand of which would not be able to balance the least part of those substantial services which I have mentioned, nor the continued marks I have given of a strict adherence to the king's interests. A gentleman of Nice raises, without my leave, and without my desiring it, some soldiers, in the said place, against several declarations of my predecessors, at the same time that I am there actually present; this is not enough, he enlists some of those that belong to my regiment of guards: I have the goodness not to suffer him to be tried at the sessions, nor his goods to be seized according to custom: and I content myself to send him to prison, only to prevent the ill example he had given by his behaviour: and yet, after all, they pretend to make a great business of this, as if I was obliged tamely to suffer this insolence and affront of one of my own subjects, in my very presence, instead of which they should have taken notice of my moderation.

I have given the king three regiments, partly composed out of the principal nobility of this country; there is a considerable number of gentlemen and others of my subjects in those troops; I am willing, for my greater recommendation, to give the king, with my own hands, such as he may desire to have above the said number: but I do not intend to give my subjects full license to act against the law, and to deviate from that loyalty they naturally owe to their sovereign. Nevertheless, those that do it, are not punished for it, their goods are not seized, and I do expressly prohibit to indict them for some impertinent and seditious words; neither do I trouble their parents for it; yet, after all, if I do not applaud their exorbitance, my past services are forgotten, and I have no good intentions for those of his Majesty!

There is a reciprocal agreement made about the restoring of the deserters of the garrison of Pignerol, Perouse, and Cassal, and of those of my troops. This is not at all executed on the side of the said garrisons: for if they restore one, they retain fifty: and yet they make a great noise, as if the agreement was not observed on my side. Of those troops which for the King's service I entertained in the valleys of Lucerne, a great many deserted to Pignerol; but the governor pretended, either, that he had no authority over those deserters, because they had listed themselves amongst some recruits which were made for other regiments; or, that they were to be exchanged with those troops of his Majesty that were out of the place; or they refused them sometimes downright, pretending that there was an amnesty of the King in favour of the deserters; as if an amnesty of the King, that only regards those that desert in his own kingdom, could be made use of by those that deserted out of my troops, far from coming back, as it is expressly required in amnesties of such nature. It has been declared at Cassal, that they would neither render nor retake any deserter. This is a thing that I do not complain of, for there seems to be a reciprocal equity in not asking, and in not giving back: but then the garrison of Cassal has no reason to complain neither.

Give me leave about this subject to inform you of a thing that has made so great a noise. Some officers of Pignerol having made their complaints, that some of their deserters were to be found in the valleys of Lucerne, I gave orders that they should be restored; and, withal, leave that they might go themselves to discover them. They took along with them a serjeant that had deserted out of a regiment belonging to the said valleys: the officers of the said regiment seized him as soon as they saw him: I was told of it in a letter: I gave them, according to my custom in such matters, a general answer, that is to say, to do what they found just, having no mind to condemn the deserters myself. The serjeant did himself confess that he had deserted; he was

tried and condemned according to law. Ought a deserter not to have been seized, that had the impudence to come before his officers, to encourage (by his so fine example) the rest of the regiment to desert as well as he? Does the agreement made to restore the deserters mention, not to take them ourselves when they are to be found in our own territories, from whence they deserted, only because some officers had the impudence to take them along with them? Ought we to think that it is the King's pleasure that we leave off being sovereigns in foreign countries, when a criminal is at the suit of a French officer, and that there be no justice for them there? Ought we to think that he would have us take there more care, than in his own kingdom? And yet this is the very thing that has been so much exaggerated, to prove that I have no good intentions for the King's service.

They have continued secretly to raise soldiers in my territories for the King's service: they are exhausted of men; I cannot find enough to complete my own regiments. I endeavour to retain my own subjects by some slight demonstrations, without troubling those any more that do not observe it, setting at liberty those that have been imprisoned, as soon as they have it. Such great moderation is not at all taken notice of; as if a sovereign ought to contribute himself to the exhausting his country of men, and that he ought to leave off making use of his own subjects, only to be employed in the King's service, without seeming to take notice of it, without being asked or thanked for it.

Some years ago, the King desiring to make some recruits in Savoy, for his regiments of Rousillon and St. Laurent, did consent that I might make some recruits for my service in the provinces of Dauphiny, Lionnois, and Provence: and though those recruits are very expensive, and come to nothing at all, by reason of the great number of those that desert either on the way, or as soon as they have arrived in this country; yet I never failed to give

orders in Savoy, as often as the officers of the said regiment arrived there with a letter of Mons. de Louvois, to let them make their recruits. It has been represented some few months ago, to two or three officers that were come for the same purpose, that Savoy was exhausted of men; that it had very much suffered the last year, endeavouring to hinder the incursions of those of Lucerne, and some French Protestants; and that to continue to contribute to the King's satisfaction, there would, according to all appearance, be no less difficulty this year to furnish men enough to the same end; desiring the said officers to put off their recruits till some more convenient time. The Count de Rebenac having spoken something of it here, the same reasons were made known to him; withal telling him, that it was no refusal, but only a putting it off for a better time, to make the said recruits with so much the more conveniency: and though he seemed to be satisfied with these just reasons, yet endeavours have been made to draw an ill consequence out of it, to the prejudice of my good intentions for the King's service; as if the various troubles of this poor country, which it has been forced to undergo, were not evident to all the world, and which is only with a design to contribute to his Majesty's satisfaction.

I run over and examine all my actions, and I find nothing else that in the least can be taken hold of by those that please themselves with censuring my actions before the King, except my journey to Venice, which the Marquis of Arcy has so often talked of before and after it. I confess, that I was very glad to have an opportunity to know the Duke of Bavaria, and to see at the same time the so much renowned city of Venice. I protest, that I did not think nor resolve on it, till at a time when I could not make it known to the King, and receive his advice, without losing the opportunity of executing my design. I beseech you seriously to consider of what ill consequence it could be, and what reason the King has to complain of it, since I did not do it, when my father of blessed memory went to

Padua for the same reason, and that I did not know the King meddled with the travels that other princes undertake. Sure it is, that what has followed, has made it evident that there was nothing in this journey but what is good and honest, and what nobody can disapprove of.

Give me leave also to answer some other complaints which the ambassador of his Majesty, and Monsieur Catinat, have mingled in their discourse, and which partly you yourself have made to the Marquis of Dogliani, my ambassador, namely, that I was treating with his Imperial Majesty, with the King of Spain, with England and Holland. To convince his Majesty that this was a false supposition, I have written you several times that it was not true: if you do but know me well, you will easily be convinced that this is more than a sufficient proof; for I had rather lose all, than tell you a lie. In the mean-time I informed the Pope, by my resident; I have written to him, and to his nuncio that had showed the letter to Mons. Catinat, that it was not true, and that nothing had passed, neither was there any thing on foot, against his Majesty's interest: that, on the contrary, I had done several things against common civility, and directly against my own interest, out of fear of displeasing him; having had no ministers at the Emperor's, and the Catholic King's court, to behave myself in this point according to the Marquis of Arcy's direction, who could not allow so much as some gentlemen, my subjects, going into Hungary to improve themselves in the art of war. As for England, the same reason has hindered me that I have sent no answer to an obliging letter from thence: and concerning the States-General, they have written to me a letter, not long ago, in favour of the Waldenses; I desired to be excused from doing what they requested, and this is the only correspondence I have had with them.

There has been something mentioned of intelligence I kept with certain men in Dauphiny; this is an invention of the same stamp with the rest, but with this difference, that I have reason to hope that by the falsity of this lie it will be

judged that the rest is of no better foundation. In fine, I am willing to submit myself to the judgment of his holiness, or the commonwealth of Venice, or any other power that I have not just reason to suspect; but the king himself, by making some just reflections, according to his great understanding, may easily see the falsity of all these accusations. And to be plain with you; after the hard usage I just now receive, it ought to be less strange, that those who have surprised his Majesty's equity, so as to persuade him to such extremes with me, have endeavoured to give some few, though false, colours to their pretences.

I beseech you, Sir, to make a parallel of what substantial things I have actually done for the King's service, with the aforesaid pretences, and to judge if those solid marks I have given of my zeal for the King's interest, do not altogether destroy them; and if it be not against common sense, to put them into a parallel? Cast your eyes upon what follows. Monsieur de Rebenac, the king's ambassador, arrives in this country; he takes pains to assure me of the King's goodness in regard to my person. I answer it with those earnest protestations so often repeated by me and my ministers, of my great acknowledgment and zeal for the King's service, that ought fully to persuade him of it. He desires me to drive the rest of my subjects out of the valleys; I do consent to it; he does nothing but entertain me about that business, and the King's favourable opinion he has of me. Monsieur Catinat arrives at Pignerol, he comes to see me in this city; the project against the Vaudois seems to be his only design; he speaks to me about it as the only cause of his coming. I do easily believe it, I let him see a list of all my troops, and that they are not enough to furnish garrisons for my fortresses, and to send them to such places where my service requires their presence; and nevertheless I resolve to furnish him with a considerable detachment. He seems to be satisfied; he desires to have at Pignerol a conference with my officers; I send them to him. All his thoughts seem to be employed about this design; he

makes all seeming preparations for it: he says that his commission regards more those parts that are of this, than the other, side of Pignerol; that it was necessary to use all haste to make an end of the business with the Vaudois, and he seems to concern himself with nothing else. In the mean-time there happened an insurrection in Mondovi; to appease that, I sent thither some of my troops, and some few of those that are at Lucerne. Monsieur Catinat lets me know, that seeing I was engaged about the business of Mondovi, if I could not assist him with the same number of troops I had promised, I should let him have at least a part of it. I gave orders to send him a detachment of 400 men; he seems to be satisfied. It snows very much in the valleys, so there is no action there. Some few days after, having made an end of the business of Mondovi, and coming back to Turin, I understand that the King's troops, which we thought were designed for Burgundy, Catalogne, and against the Protestants in the valleys, did advance towards the borders of my territories. This report is confirmed by the discourse of his Majesty's principal officers, who make it public, that they intended to put the dutchy of my land under contribution, and accordingly they dispersed there some papers that intimated the same. Nobody speaks to me about the passage; *I judge that the King has a mind either to take it by force, or that he desires I should offer it.* I do it with all the security of going and coming back, and all the conveniency of provisions in my territories, with all possible protestations of my zeal to serve him. But this signifies nothing: Monsieur Catinat desires some commissaries to explain himself about the King's intentions. I send him two persons to Pignerol. He tells them in general terms, that *the King is not satisfied with my behaviour; that he had received orders to enter his troops into my territories*, that he would give them bread, but that I was to furnish them with forage, and with a pound of flesh each soldier; and gives a hint that he would write to me something more particular. Those villages through which he

enters into my territories, give him what he desires; after he is entered there, he desires of me in a letter, to send him somebody to whom he might explain himself. I sent to him the Marquis of Ferrero, whom you formerly knew as my ambassador. Monsieur Catinat begins with general complaints; and ends with telling him, that the King expects I should send into France, over the bridge of Beauvoisin, 2000 foot, and two regiments of dragoons of my troops, and that I was to resolve upon it in 48 hours, in case I had no other proposals to make. The Marquis Ferrero did all he could, to let him see a second time the little grounds of his complaint, the great occasion I had for my own troops, and in fine, offers him a league defensive. But Monsieur Catinat persisting in his demands, he assures him, that I would send those troops over the bridge Beauvoisin into his Majesty's service. Monsieur Catinat seems to be very glad of it, and told the Marquis of Ferrero, that henceforth we should look upon his Majesty's troops as our friends, and in assurance of it, countermands the march to Grugliasch, near Turin, because the said Marquis had made some mention about it. I wrote to the Count Provane, whom I thought to be at Paris, to represent to the king what the Marquis Ferrero had told Monsieur Catinat without any success, and to add some proposals to satisfy the king about the troops, with the advantage of his Majesty's service, and the least prejudice of my own. What will you say, when you hear, that neither Monsieur Catinat's, nor my express, could at all return; that he leaves briskly Veilane, and comes to Orbassan, from whence he sends a commissary to let me know, that the troops were not enough to satisfy the king, that he desires some other assurance of my good intentions for the king's service; that he did not positively know what it was, but believed it might regard some place. That Monsieur Catinat expects an answer in twenty-four hours; that it was then about eight or nine, and that about the same time to-morrow he expected some proposals, for want of which he should begin to commit hos-

tilities. I send him the Abbot of Verrue; Monsieur Catinat repeats his complaints, and desires some assurance of my good intentions. He is entreated to tell, if he had any power from the king to treat. He answers, that he has none, but that he may accept some places in the king's name. We request to know what place he expects; he makes some difficulty to tell it, and desires we should guess it; at last he says, that the communication of Pignerol, and the citadel of Cassal must be secured; but says at the same time, they made no reflection upon the new city of Ast.

The Pope's nuncio goes to him, in order to accommodate matters betwixt us; he shows him my letter, wherein I assure him, that I was no ways a treating against the King, no, not so much as in my thoughts; but all this without effect. The Marquis of Ferrero and the Abbot of Verrue return thither, they hear nothing but the same things repeated. The Marquis Ferrero returns thither once more alone, with a letter from the Marquis de St. Thomas, wherein he shows my readiness to satisfy the King, with an assurance of my good intentions. He is extremely surprised to hear out of Monsieur Catinat's own mouth, that he had not spoken of an assurance in the singular, but in the plural number; that he had given it sufficiently to understand to the Abbot of Verrue, yet it seemed to be the same thing to that abbot, and to the commissary, to speak in the plural, instead of the singular number, as they have both done. But Monsieur Catinat, who aimed at his ends, persisted in this opinion, and declared afterwards, that there was nothing but the citadels of Turin and Verrue that could satisfy the King; that in case they were not in twenty-four hours put into his hands, he could no longer defer to commit hostilities; as if the entering with an army into a country, and to make them subsist at the expenses of the people, were great marks of friendship. And yet he would by no means, nay, he had no power to treat about the conditions, which is, in plain terms, to live at discretion.

In this great extremity, seeing my people at the mercy of a foreign army, I thought fit to give myself the honour to send to the King a letter, the copy of which I have joined to this, and sent it to Monsieur Catinat by the Count of Marcenæse. He agreed to suspend all actions of hostilities, and dispatched immediately his nephew to carry the letter to the King with all possible speed. And, indeed, his speed was so great, that he was but few hours above a sevensnight in going and coming. Monsieur Catinat gave me notice of his arrival by sending me his Majesty's answer, the copy of which I have also joined to this. I confess I was mightily troubled to see a letter writ with so much reserve, and that did not give me the least sign of the king's reconciliation to me, which I did expect; and far from giving me the least hopes about the restoring of my places, he gives me sufficiently to understand, that he required long proofs of my affection before he could be persuaded of it; insomuch, that if these things, altogether false and supposititious, and some other slight ones, could so easily persuade him to the depriving me of the said places, would he ever want some pretences to retain them? I sent, nevertheless, the Marquis Ferrero and the Marquis of St. Thomas to Monsieur Catinat, with full power to treat. They endeavoured to acquaint themselves with his power and his sentiments: the first was in very good form, but the other little answered my expectation.

In fine, Sir, after all the ill usage I received from the King, I am sure, if he would give himself the trouble to hear the reading of this letter, he would not desire to be judge of this affair; and if he did desire it, I seriously believe he could not hinder himself from pronouncing in my favour.

My chancellor has written a letter to Monsieur Catinat, of which I send you a copy, as also another of his answer. After which having demanded contributions in my territories, and I hearing of nothing but threatenings, was forced to accept the succours which those that always looked upon

me as a Frenchman had the generosity to offer me, in this great extremity to which I am reduced ; which I did not consent to, till after I had left no stone unturned to keep me from that necessity. This is so very great, that I do not think to flatter myself so much, as to believe that all Europe will pity me, without excepting the most generous and just men in France. Good God ! how was it possible it should be for the king's interest to oppress a prince, who has the honour to be so nearly related to him, who has given him such substantial marks of his zeal and affection, whose countries are surrounded by those of his Majesty's, and who by the rest of the world is taken to be a Frenchman ? What will those princes say, which France would fain separate from the contrary party ? Is it not as much as to let them know, that they have nothing to hope, and every thing to fear, considering the usage I receive ? Is the world not enough informed of the vast designs of France, without discovering them so much in desiring to drive me out of the citadel of my ordinary residence, and another very considerable place ? Will the princes of Italy believe that it is in order to defend them from their enemies, of which they have none ? or, to open the way to some greater conquests, making the beginning with him, who far from fearing any enterprises from him had all the reason in the world to rely on his protection ? Pardon, Sir, the prolixity of this letter, and do not ascribe it to any thing but to justify to you my behaviour, after having made use of all human prudence could furnish me with. I hope that God Almighty will not abandon the justice of my cause ; that he will fortify my weakness ; and that the consolation of a prince, whom they endeavour to drive out of a part of what he has inherited from his ancestors, will be the darling work of Divine providence. Pity me in my misfortunes, but assure yourself, that having nothing to reproach myself with, I look upon it with courage ; and in case I should happen to be a prince without a country, (which by God's assistance, I hope I shall not) I will never-

theless maintain those sentiments, and that greatness of soul, which is answerable to my birth, and worthy of a son, that intends to honour you as a father all his lifetime, and that ever will be entirely yours.

Since the writing of this letter, I have received one from Monsieur Catinat, which I send you a copy of, as also of the answer I sent him, and how he replied to it. Methinks that after what had passed, I am not in the wrong to desire to treat in writing, and that all the world will easily agree, that it is a mark of the uprightness of my proceedings, and the sincerity of my intentions, assuring you again, that what Monsieur Catinat mentions about a precedent engagement, is nothing but a mere pretence, and that I have had none, either with the Emperor or the Catholic King, till the third of this month, when Monsieur Catinat cut off all manner of treaties, and intimated contributions to several of my territories.



No. 17.

Letter from his Royal Highness the Duke of Savoy, to the French King, May the 20th, 1690.

Monsieigneur,

I AM infinitely troubled to see that those false colours with which I have been blackened in the eyes of your Majesty, have had so much power over your mind, as to deprive me of the honour of your favour, which I have always valued more than my life. The only consolation I have left me in this extremity is, that I have not drawn this misfortune upon me by the least want of zeal for your royal service, of which I will make a glory to continue to give some real marks on all occasions. When Monsieur Catinat told me, you desired part of my troops, of which I have not very many, I assured him that your Majesty was master of them, and that they were to pass the mountains

immediately to go to serve your Majesty. He has since given me to understand, that your will and pleasure was, to have some places in Piedmont in assurance of my good intentions : and although your Majesty stands in no need of any other assurance, than that of my heart, which is entirely yours, yet having desired Monsieur Catinat to speak somewhat plainer, and he having at last told me that the citadels of Turin and Verrue were aimed at, I am ready to give your Majesty so substantial a proof my submission, as the delivery of those two places into your hands will be, humbly intreating you, that you would be pleased to do it upon such terms, as a prince that has the honour to be so nearly related to you, may reasonably expect from the goodness and generosity of so great a king ; but if your Majesty would be pleased to make choice of some other place in Piedmont instead of the citadel of Turin, that I might continue to live there with the dignity of a Sovereign, your Majesty would infinitely oblige me. I humbly implore your Majesty's generosity for it, as also that you would be pleased to hear the Count of Provance, my ambassador, who will sufficiently satisfy your Majesty about the ill-grounded suspicions your Majesty has been inspired with concerning my behaviour, and who will renew to your Majesty all the sincere protestations of zeal and respect, assuring you, that I intend to be all my lifetime, &c.

No. 18.

The French King's answer to his Royal Highness the Duke of Savoy's Letter, dated May the 24th, 1690.

Dear Brother,

I UNDERSTAND with great satisfaction, by your letter which Monsieur Catinat has sent me, the resolution you have taken to put into my hands the citadels of Turin and

of Verrue; and seeing that the Count of Provance is not here, and that if I should stay for his arrival, to hear what he has to say to me on your part, there would be wasted a considerable time, in which the march of my troops towards the dutchy of Milan would be put off; I thought fit to send to the Sieur Catinat, full powers to receive those places in my name; and, in the mean-time, I am willing to assure you, by this letter, that I have been very much troubled to find myself obliged to give orders for my troops to enter your territories; and that as soon as I shall have no cause to doubt of your zeal for my interest, and of that constant affection for my crown, of which most of your ancestors have given many substantial proofs, I will render you my friendship with pleasure, and do that for you which your near relationship gives you reason to hope for.

I am, &c.

No. 19.

*Letter from his Royal Highness's Chancellor to Mons.
Catinat, June the 3d, 1690.*

Sir,

HIS Royal Highness has been extremely troubled to understand, by what I have told him of your invincible resistance to accept the proposals I have made you in his name, the misfortune he has not to be able to satisfy his Majesty, and to see that so many extraordinary endeavours of his to please him, have been altogether unsuccessful. It is without doubt the effect of my little capacity to make them agreeable, which I am also heartily sorry for. But thinking that his Royal Highness's proposals concerning the places and troops, were so very liberal and just, that they wanted no art of rhetoric, I received with pleasure his orders to make them known to you. I wish with all

my heart that you would be pleased to assist me with your great experience of the affairs of the world, to find out some other more successful expedient. I will do all that lies in my power to make them acceptable to his Royal Highness, as also to let you see, by my care, the honour I have to be really yours, &c.



No. 20.

*Monsieur Catinat's Answer to the Chancellor's Letter, dated
June the 3d, 1690.*

Sir,

I HAVE received the letter, you have done me the honour to write to me, which I find to be written with the same spirit as all his Royal Highness's ministers have discovered to me in our conversations. I have found nothing that has been positive in all the treaties I have had the honour to have about a business of so great consequence, except the promises that have been made to the King by his Royal Highness, in a letter which he has had the honour to write to him with his own hand.

I am, &c.



No. 21.

*Monsieur Catinat's Letter to his Royal Highness, June the
16th, 1690.*

Monsieur,

I HAVE to day received an express from his Majesty, with such orders as may furnish some means to your Royal

Highness to help yourself out of those extremities which you yourself have drawn upon you. For this reason I beseech your Royal Highness to send to me two or three of your ministers, in whom you have most confidence, that I may make it known to them; for the going and coming of which I take the liberty to send you passports. I humbly beseech your Royal Highness, to do me the honour to believe that I am, with deep respect, &c.

No. 22.

*His Royal Highness's Answer to Monsieur Catinat's Letter,
dated June the 17th, 1690.*

You have as many witnesses as you have soldiers, of what I have suffered, to show my respect for, and readiness to serve, the King your master. You know I consented to your demand, about some of my troops going into France; that you showed a great satisfaction about it to the Marquis Ferrero, as if it had been your only design in my regard, and that you told me we should henceforth look upon the king's troops as friends. Nevertheless, some few days after, you wanted some of my strong places; afterwards you desired that, contrary to your first proposals, my troops were not to go into France, but to join your army in order to act against the dutchy of Milan. After which you see that I have reason to wish, that in case you have any thing to propose to me, you would do it in writing, and I will do the same. This is all that I can say at present, in answer to your letter, and that I will always preserve those sentiments of esteem for you, with which I am, &c.

No. 23.

*Monsieur Catinat's Reply to his Royal Highness's Answer,
June the 17th, 1690.*

Monsieigneur,

I HAVE received the letter your Royal Highness has done me the honour to write to me, in which your intentions are so clear and evident to follow those engagements you have embraced a great while ago, that it is needless to propose to you any thing in writing that may furnish the means to recover the honour of his Majesty's favour. I am, with all the respect that is owing to you.

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